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ABSTRACT

Consequences of participation in the South African Education Program, which enabled 290 South Africans to study in the United States between 1979 and 1985, were evaluated. Attention was directed to outcomes of participation and the educational experience and intellectual and social growth experienced by the students and alumni, who were Black (i.e., African, colored or mixed race, and Indian) South Africans. Data were derived from students' applications, interviews, questionnaires, and observations. Central to the evaluation were interviews conducted with 30 new students and 40 alumni (interviewed in South Africa). Findings included: students were adequately equipped for study in U.S. colleges; orientation programs in South Africa and at Denison University helped in their preparation and adaptation; alumni built satisfactory academic records; students reported increased knowledge from exposure to courses, readings, and technology unavailable to them in South Africa; and students reported positive feelings from having competed successfully with white students. Five recommendations based on participants' suggestions are offered, including monitoring the progress of the foreign students, increasing the number of students admitted annually, and exploring sources of aid for dependents' travel. (SW)

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South African Education Program:

An Evaluation Report

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The South African Education Program (SAEP) and its affiliate in South Africa, the Educational Opportunities Council (EOC), have been studied previously from fiscal and organizational perspectives. This evaluation focused on the efficacy of the Program as perceived by its students and alumni/ae. The evaluation was conducted between July 1984 and June 1985. Students and alumni/ae participating in the evaluation were drawn from the population of 290 black (i.e., African, colored or mixed race, and Indian) South Africans who entered the U.S. under the sponsorship of SAEP between 1979-80 and 1984-85. Florence Ladd, with overall responsibility for the evaluation, prepared the report. Herbert Vilakazi served as co-researcher and he participated in interviews with alumni/ae.

PURPOSE OF THE EVALUATION

The purpose of the evaluation was to assess the consequences of participation in SAEP. Some 290 women and men studied in U.S. universities between 1979 and 1985 under the auspicies of the South African Education Program. The evaluation focused on the effectiveness of the Program from their perspective.

The key question the evaluation addressed was: Has the Program made a qualitative difference in the educational experience, intellectual development and social growth of participants? Related questions were: How did participants, particularly alumni/ae, evaluate their experience? What did they regard as the advantages and disadvantages of studying in the U.S.? When they returned to South Africa, did they find employment opportunities that were commensurate with their training?

DATA SOURCES AND ANALYSIS

The data on SAEP students and alumni/ae were derived from students' applications, interviews, questionnaires and obser- vations. The central sections of the evaluation focused on interviews with 30 new students and 40 alumni/ae (interviewed in South Africa). Most of the data were qualitative. We have developed thematic analyses of interview and questionnaire data. Interpretations of remarks and observations are offered. In most instances, the expression or interpretation of an aspect of an educational or employment experience is found in the statement of a student or alumnus/a. We attempted to serve them faithfully by amplifying their voices and reporting their sentiments. In doing so, we made them a part of the official record of this experiment in education and social change.

MAJOR FINDINGS

- Students were adequately equipped for study in U.S. colleges and universities. The orientation programs in South Africa and at Denison University contributed to their preparation and adaptation. In general, students responded effectively and successfully to the challenges of a foreign system of higher education. Alumni/ae built highly satisfactory academic records. In several instances, they made important contributions to the quality of student life at their institutions.

- Exposed to courses, readings, and technology unavailable to them in South Africa, students reported that they had expanded their knowledge base significantly. Contacts with U. S. students, and with students from other African nations contributed to their social and cultural enrichment.

- Alumni/ae cited the following as significant psychological benefits of study in U.S. institutions: increased self-confidence; increased sense of intellectual competence; and greater self-assurance attributed to having competed successfully with white students. Inhibitions about working with whites in egalitarian relationships diminished markedly.

- Most alumni/ae, upon returning to South Africa, found positions that were commensurate with their training and compatible with their career objectives. For some, the job search was protracted (complicated by "group areas" regulations), demoralizing and frustrating. The intervention of an SAEP staff member or a corporate connection was sometimes influential; a few alumni/ae attributed job offers to such intervention.

- Alumni/ae returned to their families and townships with the expectation of being engaged fully in the social issues that surrounded them. There was no evidence of retreat from community obligations and family responsibilities. They have not adopted elitist attitudes.

- Nine of the 290 SAEP students withdrew from their institutions and returned to South Africa before completing degree requirements. Six of these withdrew for emotional, cultural or family reasons; two found their academic programs incompatible with their career objectives. There was one academic failure among them.

- Alumni/ae reported that they experienced a heightened sense of South African identity while in the U.S. Their encounters with individuals from other African nations increased their appreciation of black African traditions and values.

- Alumni/ae extolled the quality of instruction and the character of faculty-student dialogue in U.S. colleges and universities. In general, they reported a high level of satisfaction with their U.S. sojourns.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Our recommendations are based on the suggestions of students and alumni/ae. Rationales for the recommendations are drawn from empirical evidence. We recognize that some of the recommendations have fiscal implications that exceed the Program's current budgetary constraints; however, additional expenditures are likely to insure the future success of the program.

1. ENLARGE THE ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY OF THE EOC.

There is an acute need for EOC regional representatives who would facilitate delivery of program information, recruitment, and coordination of regional programs for applicants and alumni/ae.

2. MONITOR THE PROGRESS AND THE ISSUES OF UNDERGRADUATES.

It is especially important to monitor the progress of undergraduates and to anticipate their problems. There is a persistent debate among graduate students and alumni (most of whom were graduate students in the U.S.) about the suitability of undergraduates for study abroad.

3. EXPLORE SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE FOR DEPENDENTS' TRAVEL.

Hardships encountered by a spouse who remains in South Africa, and loneliness and concern about family experienced by the student abroad can impair a student's performance and strain family relationships. It is recommended that an effort be made to procure funds (if needed and desired) to contribute to air fare for spouse and/or children.

4. MAINTAIN AN ON-GOING EVALUATION OF STUDENTS AND ALUMNI/AE.

The SAEP Debriefing Questionnaire is a rich source of information about students' appraisals of their U.S. academic programs and other aspects of the U.S. sojourn. Periodic surveys concerning job searches, appointments and promotions of alumni/ae would contribute to the data base required for an on-going evaluation of the program and record of progress of its graduates.

5. INCREASE THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS ADMITTED ANNUALLY.

The pool of qualified candidates for scholarships is sizable. Increasing the visibility of the program in South Africa should attract applicants in greater numbers. Some participating U.S. universities may be able to increase the number of scholarships available; institutions that have not participated previously may offer scholarships. An increase in the level of federal and foundation support should be sought. The escalation in the pace of social change in South Africa requires an escalation in the rate of educational preparation of South African blacks.

SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION PROGRAM: AN EVALUATION

PART 1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The mission of the South African Education Program (SAEP), broadly speaking, is to contribute to black advancement in South Africa through U.S. higher education. The Program is one of several "catalytic initiatives in education" intended to further the cause of social change in South Africa. In their testimony to the U.S. House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Derek Bok and David Smock (1981) presented the objectives of SAEP as follows:

> The South African Education Program anticipates that there will be an important multiplier effect in the training that the scholarship holders acquire. Some awardees will become professors or teachers and impart their new skills and knowledge to their students. Others will become entrepreneurs and create employment for other South Africans. Others will work for corporations, and urge those organizations to become more socially responsible in their employment and business practices. With the high quality academic training they receive and the psychological benefits that will accrue from their time in a racially open and democratic society, we can anticipate that many of these scholarship holders will assume positions of importance in South Africa.

The Program was initiated in 1979. The accomplishments of SAEP, its students and its alumni/ae, are material for a long-term demonstration of the possibilities of a unique study abroad program. It is too early to assess the influences of the Program on social change in South Africa. We were able to assess students' expectations of the U.S. universities, examine aspects of the experience of black South African students in U.S. universities, and trace with SAEP alumni/ae the route of return to their families, communities and occupations in South Africa.

Between 1979-80 and 1984-85, SAEP brought 290 black (i.e., African, colored or mixed race, and Indian) South African students to the U.S. for undergraduate and graduate level study. The students were placed in 122 colleges and universities that had provided scholarship aid. Of the 290 students who had entered the U.S. by 1984-85, approximately 60 had completed their degree programs and returned to South Africa; another 9 students had withdrawn from U.S. institutions and had returned to South Africa. The evaluation focused primarily on the alumni/ae and other returnees whose re-entry experiences and employment opportunities contributed to our understanding of the potential contribution of SAEP. Students who entered the U.S. in 1984-85 were another focal group whose expectations of U.S. universities provided a basis for interpretation of future academic performance.

Data on students and alumni/ae were gathered during 1984-85, a period of dramatic upheaval in South Africa's black educational institutions. Students once again were in the vanguard of the anti-apartheid movement. School and university boycotts closed most black institutions for several weeks. School yards and university campuses were the scenes of battles - the South African police vs. South Africa's black students. Violent police-student confrontations resulted in deaths, injuries, and arrests of students. News of such incidents influenced the nature of the evaluation, attitudes of students and alumni/ae, and, no doubt, the opinions of the researchers as well.

Florence Ladd, who was responsible for the evaluation, prepared the report. Herbert Vilakazi served as co-researcher and participated in interviews with alumni/ae.

BACKGROUND

Given the prominence of South Africa in international news, more than two decades of reports of events that have disrupted its educational institutions, and the testimonies of black South Africans in exile in U.S. universities, it is acknowledged that this study might have been undertaken with a bias that favored the Program's mission and study abroad opportunities in general for South African blacks. Not so. Available countervailing information had raised questions about the relevance of U.S. education to preparation for the struggle for a free South Africa. There were many critics of a program that sent black South Africans to the U.S. for tertiary education. Would students be able to resist the seduction of U.S. values? Would they want to return to South Africa after their exposure to the relative freedom of U.S. universities and communities? In short, were the EOC and SAEP doing black South African students a service or a disservice by providing educational opportunities abroad?

Aware of the range of issues and arguments, we undertook the evaluation. We could not claim innocence; a considerable amount of information about education in South Africa has been available. At the same time, we were uncertain about what we were likely to find; we could not anticipate the outcome of the evaluation. We began, therefore, with an exploratory approach.

We were guided by the research and observations reported in the literature on South African education. For example, Dube's (1985) historical analysis of race and education in South Africa enlarged our understanding of the evolution of policies and practices that were antecedents of the country's contemporary educational systems. The Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: 1983 (1984) was a source of demographic data on the educational status of blacks. In addition, its documentation of "disturbances and other events" in secondary schools and universities conveyed a sense of the pervasiveness of the discontent of

blacks, particularly black youths. One might expect a hiatus in a student's academic record during an interlude when black schools and universities were closed. We were not surprised, therefore, to find gaps in students' academic records.

In South Africa: Time Running Out (1981) the need for educational opportunities for blacks was registered in terms of the disparaties between the educational attainment of blacks and whites at the university level. It was reported that "in 1970 there were only 1,400 African university graduates, contrasted with 104,500 white university graduates."

David Smock (1983) reported that the number of full time African university students more than tripled between 1970 and 1980; still their numbers were very small in relation to the proportion of the African population and when compared with the number of white university students. In 1979 university enrollment on a full-time, residential basis included 80,000 whites and only 7,000 Africans. Despite the recent growth in university places for Africans, a white child still has "100 times more chance of becoming a university graduate than an African child." In 1983 there were only 5,400 African university graduates in South Africa, while the number of white graduates approached 200,000 (Smock, 1983). At that time it was estimated that approximately 720 African students would graduate annually from South African universities.

It was assumed that U.S. efforts to increase educational opportunities of black South Africans would probably be worthwhile. The effort of the South African Education Program, the subject of this evaluation, has been studied from fiscal and organizational perspectives. A study of the Program from the viewpoint of participants, i.e., students and alumni/ae, was in order; it was time to test the assumptions about the value of the program as judged by participants.

PURPOSE OF THE EVALUATION

The purpose of the evaluation was to assess the consequences of participation in SAEP for the 290 women and men who studied in U.S. universities between 1979 and 1985 under the auspices of the South African Education Program. The focus of the evaluation was on the effectiveness of the Program from the participant's perspective. The key question that the evaluation addressed was: Has the Program made a qualitative difference in the educational experience, intellectual development and social growth of participants? Related questions that shaped the evaluation were: How did participants, particularly alumni/ae, evaluate their experience? What do they regard as the advantages and disadvantages of studying in the U.S.? When they return to South Africa, do they find employment opportunities that are commensurate with their training?

The evaluation contains baseline data and reference material for future studies of the progress of this cohort of students and their contributions to the future of South Africa. Will they make a difference with respect to the future of South Africa? Will they be change agents? Will they become participants in the solution for South Africa's apartheid problem? These questions are central to the evaluation and the Program. It is a matter of whether a cohort of individuals educated abroad will have a significant impact on the values, social structure, institutions and conventions of South Africa. These are among the questions that future researchers should ponder.

DATA SOURCES AND ANALYSIS

The data on SAEP students and alumni/ae have been derived from students' applications, interviews, questionnaires and obser- vations. The central portion of the evaluation is based on interviews with alumni/ae. Most of the data are qualitative. We have developed thematic analyses of interview and questionnaire data. Interpretations of remarks and observations are offered. Often, the most valid expression or interpretation of an aspect of an educational or employment experience is in the statement of a student or alumnus/a. We attempted to serve them faithfully by amplifying their voices, reporting their sentiments, and, in doing so, making them a part of the official record of this experiment in education and social change.

The reader in search of a quantitative study of the students' performance on tests of scholastic aptitude and in academic programs as reflected in grade point averages may not be satisfied by this report. We questioned the validity and relevance of standardized tests developed primarily for U.S. educated students. The variations in grading systems in U.S. colleges and universities make it difficult to provide a valid quantitative assessment of the overall performance of participants. Their records indicate that most of them performed exceptionally well; the grades of some were average. In general, however, the students' academic performance was better than satisfactory.

APPLICATION AND SELECTION PROCEDURES

According to students and alumni/ae, the period between the submission of one's application and the moment of arrival in the U.S. for admission to a college or university is mixed with exhilaration and apprehension. The application process places in high relief one's scholastic record, academic strengths and weaknesses, educational aspirations and occupational objectives. It is a time when one examines his or her

commitment to community and country and considers the potential risks associated with study and residence abroad. There is a span of approximately 12 months between application and admission.

The most promising applicants are invited for interviews with panels of educators. Black South African educators and representatives of U.S. universities serve as panelists. EOC and SAEP staff members participate in some interviews. The interviews afford an opportunity to learn more about the candidates, their academic interests, and their concerns about the Program. It is the final phase of screening. Candidates who are nominated for placement in U.S. universities subsequently are so informed. They then await further notification about placement. (From a pool of more than 600 applicants, approximately 300 were interviewed for 1984-85. One out of three was selected for placement. There were nearly 2000 applicants for the 1985-86 selection.)

The placement process is administered by an Institute of International Education placement specialist. Every effort is made to match students with participating institutions that offer academic programs compatible with applicants' specifications. When applicants are accepted by institutions and the funding (particularly government contracts) is assured, students then are notified of acceptance and departure arrangements.

Students and alumni/ae recalled anxieties felt during the application and selection phase. Detailed information about this stage of the process with a calendar of required transactions for candidates may clarify for them the duties of the EOC and SAEP and reduce candidates' anxieties.

PROFILES OF APPLICANTS

Applicants were instructed to write narrative statements concerning their personal histories and future plans. To illustrate the nature of their statements and the situations that some have encountered, excerpts from four applications are presented.

NARRATIVE 1.

UNDERGRADUATE WOMAN

I left school at the age of 16, just after completing Junior Certificate. This was due to financial problems; my mother had died and my father remarried, so I had to see to the upbringing of my younger sister and brother who are now 21 and 19 years respectively. My sister is now working and my brother is still at school.

I worked as a domestic servant for 6 years. During that time I did matric privately which I passed in 3 years because I was taking two subjects at a time. After completing matric in 1975, I took up typing lessons, still working as a part-time domestic servant. Six months later I got a job at a literacy organisation. This led to a more or less career, as I went from organisation to organisation doing administrative work. My original aim was to train as an English teacher. Though I contribute somehow towards helping my people I am still not satisfied because I don't see myself contributing positively and profitably as I would have liked to. I would rather teach and be able to impart more knowledge that I wish to gather in the U.S.

In 1981 I registered with the University of Zululand on a part-time basis. I passed English One, 1st and 2nd semester and Zulu One, 1st and 2nd semester. I couldn't continue in 1982 because of difficulties encountered regarding late finishing hours and lack of availability of transport home which is in the North of Durban and the University is in the South. Classes at times finish at 10:30 p.m. and I have to travel by train for almost two hours and have to get up at 5:00 a.m. to go to work. I find it difficult to do homework and review the work done the previous night.

In South Africa there is no specialised course for teaching English as a Second Language. Even so, I wouldn't be able to study full time and pay my fees as I find it very difficult to budget even to attend university for one year. This is mainly because I live at home where I have to see to my relatives who are less priviledged than myself. As a part-time student at the University of Zululand, I find it difficult to take more than two courses per year, this means I will complete a three-year degree in six years; and the fees are going up each year.

NARRATIVE 2.

UNDERGRADUATE MAN

I was born and raised in the Johannesburg ghetto of Western Township with its two-roomed shacks and a makeshift lavatory outside in the tiny yard. I shared this dwelling with my two brothers and our parents. My mother worked as a nurse and my father as a salesman for the great Coca-cola Company. As children, we went through some lean times and life in the ghetto often brought me closer to the harsh realities of being among the under- privileged class and I swore to fight back and strive for the upliftment of myself, my family and for all of the people of this land who were in the rut of helplessness and deprivation. I swore also to work relentlessly for a just society.

Dreams in the ghetto. For a boy with ideals this often becomes a nightmare. I saw my own family falling apart as my parents quarrelled continuously. My father, then an independent fruit vendor, drank excessively and depleted whatever monies there had been. My childhood imaginations to become some great hero; some great soccer star, fell to pieces The ghetto is strong. The ghetto is a killer. Dreams. Men. The ghetto destroys all and sundry. I found refuge in books and fantasies.

The moral discipline I had received through religion sustained and helped me through. attended school at a religious institution in the knowledge that my mother wanted me to enter priesthood. This gave me a solid foundation and I knew that education would unshackle me and my family and my people. It was the beginning of a new horizon.

My primary school education began about three miles from our home, with the usual hazards of travelling in ghetto. Libraries became my friends and through books I discoverec other heroes. Not the boy next door with the big knife; not the gang leader of the Townships Fast Guns Gang or of the Spaldings or of the Vikings; or the numerous child gangs that proliferated the township, but new men. Scientists. Doctors and teachers. A whole new world.

At the religious boarding school, I mixed and mingled with boys and girls from diverse backgrounds; forging strong ties with them. We formed debating societies and awareness groups, discussing the problems which beset us students; and sought solutions.

I excelled academically; taking top position through the unceasing support and encouragement of my tutors. They urged me to further my studies beyond matriculation level. I won debate contests and essay tests. I was sent to study classes at the nearby University of the Western Cape; which further made me aware of my commitment to creatior of a better society. I also discovered that I had leadership qualities.

On my return to Johannesburg, from the Cape high school, I helped to found a youth rehabilitation club, with the help of a leader called Mr.-----, who was a social worker. I was further made aware through him that there was an acute need for medically-orientatec people, either doctors or health promotion experts. This gave birth to my desire to become a MEDICAL DOCTOR.

The purpose of my applying for the Scholarship is to make my dream of becoming a medical doctor a reality. I have seen a need among the people for better-trained doctors; a need so pronounced in the rural areas and homelands of South Africa, that I cannot but become a doctor. I know that I shall be doubly working for social benefits as well as attending to the health needs of the people. I know that other countries of the world coulc help me to realize this ambition, but I have chosen the United States of America because its achievements in medicine are a beacon to the world at large. The winning of the Nobel Prize for medicine, year in and year out, are ample proof of American expertise and achievement. know that I will be in a position to share my African culture with part of the American people and in the process learn from them.

On graduating as a doctor, I intend to share my knowledge with all men of all countries But uppermost in my desire, is my own, beloved country, South Africa. I would want to return and work for my land and for my people. I am aware that should I achieve this, I would always be indebted to the American people and that they would not begrudge my not tc return to my fatherland. I want so much to wipe away pain and suffering from the face of the earth, but I intend to start at home, in the same ghetto where I was born and where the people would be able to look up to me and say to their children: "YOU SEE, IF--------COULD DO IT, SO CAN YOU!"

NARRATIVE 3.

GRADUATE WOMAN

Fourteen years of my life have to date been spent at school. I went to school at the age of 5. I obtained a first class distinction pass (B-average) in my standard five examination in 1976. I then went to a girls school for my high school education. I obtained a first class distinction pass in my standard eight final examination. I left the school in 1980 to complete my high school education in Johannesburg. At the end of 1982 I wrote my Joint Matriculation Board exams and obtained a 2nd class pass.

Up until about my last year at high school I was quite undecided as to what career to pursue. But during the course of the year I felt I wanted to take up Medicine and therefore applied to the University of Witwatersrand to study Medicine or for a BSc degree as my second choice, depending on my results. I also applied at the same time to Department of Education and Training for Ministerial consent to study at a white University and the reply was that the Minister would not be in a position to consider my application unless I had a written letter of acceptance from the University. I was accepted by the University to study for a BSc degree. My enrollment into the Faculty of Science at the University depended on whether the Minister approved of my studying at a white University. However, I was granted provisional enrollment by the University pending the outcome of my application for Ministerial consent. When the Minister finally turned down my application, I then enrolled at Drake College where I am presently doing a six months' secretarial course.

For relaxation I enjoy reading historical novels and listening to contemporary music. My sporting interests include tennis, swimming and gymnastics.

NARRATIVE 4.

GRADUATE MAN

I am 21 years old. I have spent 12 years at primary and secondary schools. In 1976, I matriculated from ------College with a matriculation exemption. I have been studying at the University of Durban-Westville for the past four years and I have fulfilled the requirements for a Bachelor of Commerce degree. The University of Durban-Westville is a racially orientated University created for the "Indian" population group. However, I have become disillusioned with this University as I feel that there is a lot more to a University than just its academic program. My last year on the campus was unforgetable. The education boycott has hardened my attitude towards the authorities and has confirmed my belief that institutions created along racial lines do not allow for freedom of speech and expression. The turning point of my decision to leave the country and to attend an American university came on that fatal Wednesday and which has now come to be known as "Black Wednesday". It was disgusting to see a White lecturer leading a charge against his own students and shooting tear gas cannisters around the campus. All hell broke loose on that day and the police force that was on the campus cornered and baton charged innocent students (including female students), and blood was to be found everywhere. I felt as though I had been living through a nightmare and felt helpless because I could not help my fellow students. This is an experience that has left a scar on my life and I will never forgive that brutal police action against defenceless students. To me this was not what a university stood for, as the boycott was a means of expressing one's discontent for the inequitable spending of money on education for the various race groups of the country.

It is difficult in an institution of this nature to express one's thought freely, both politically and academically, for fear of being victimised. Although sporting facilities are provided, students do not make use of them because of student dissent on the formation of a Student Representative Council. Thus there is no organized activity on the campus. The creation of these "bush colleges", as they have come to be known, means that "Indians" from all over the country have to attend this University with the result that classes are very big; for example an average of one hundred and fifty (150) in the final year courses. Thus there

is very little contact between student and lecturer and the student is denied the individual attention he needs.

One of the main reasons for my decision to study in the United States of America is the greater flexibility of their academic programs which will give me a better opportunity of specializing in my particular field. Studying in a dynamic environment such as the Unitec States will allow me to express my thoughts and feelings more freely. I would also be giver the opportunity of being in a non-racial society for the first time in my life and I am confident that I will benefit from the experience. I have always been a great admirer of America's democratic principles, so studying and experiencing it will most certainly influence my lifestyle and when I return home I hope to share these ideas with our Black people.

American Universities not only offer a comprehensive academic program but also place a greater emphasis on sport, a part of my life which I have been denied in my country because of the lack of sporting facilities for the Black people. Although I do not participate on a competitive basis, I am a regular squash, cricket and football player and given the correct training and coaching I am confident of excelling these sports.

Obtaining a degree from an American university will enhance my prospects of finding employment when I return home, a country where job apartheid still exists. However with an American degree I would be readily acceptable. This would also enable me to get rid of any inferiority complex that I might have. There is a shortage of Black people in top management posts in South Africa. Until recently, not many opportunities were open for Blacks in management positions and I feel that there is a desperate need for more Black people to be qualified to hold these positions. This would enable Black managers to operate companies and be more sympathetic to their staff and their problems, thus eliminating mistrust between management on the one hand and the employees and their unions on the other hand and would hopefully contribute to a just, peaceful, united, non-racial society in South Africa.

RESEARCH APPROACH

An overview of the South African Education Program, its structure, operation and objectives was provided by David Smock and Hilda Mortimer. Material about the program and conferences with IIE staff members affiliated with SAEP were sources of additional information. Student records and SAEP files were made available for study.

A review of students' applications and records generated questions about their expectations, ambitions and objectives; in addition, they provided information about academic and personal histories. Debriefing questionnaires submitted by students upon completion of their degree programs were analyzed. The questionnaires contained useful information about students' appraisals of the benefits they derived from the program and the liabilities they incurred; they elicited students' reflections on their adjustment to the U.S. and statements about immediate plans. Their suggestions about the Program were invited. These documents, i.e., applications, records, and debriefing questionnaires, as well as conferences with SAEP and IIE staff members provided initial source material for the inquiry.

The first phase of the evaluation occurred during the July 1984 orientation of South African students at Denison University where I (FCL), as participant-observer, spent 2 1/2 weeks in the company of the newcomers. I began this phase of the study with a high level of curiosity about the educational and cultural expectations of the students and with an awareness of the importance of developing credibility and trust among them. Introduced to the group as a researcher responsible for an evaluation of the Program, I administered a Background Information Questionnaire (Appendix A). The Questionnaire, accompanied by a cover letter (Appendix A), announced that some students, selected at random, would be invited for interviews at a later date. The letter also told them that responses would be treated confidentially; that individuals would be

anonymous and that names would not be associated with responses. All 72 students present completed the Background Information Questionnaire. A random sample of 30 SAEP students (M=16; F=14) was selected for interviews from the 72 respondents. Individual interviews were conducted with the 30 students during unscheduled time at Denison. Each interview required from 1 1/2 to 2 hours. A copy of the Interview Guide is appended (Appendix A).

There were many opportunities for informal conversations and observations. I attended group sessions, lectures and some of the programs of entertainment with the students; I had meals with them regularly and participated in excursions to nearby cities. I took walks, watched television (the Democratic National Convention was telecast), played games, and shared newspapers and magazines with the students and members of the Orientation staff. Occasional conferences with Orientation staff members were sources of additional insights and information about the students and their interactions.

The second phase of the evaluation involved visitations and consultation in South Africa with the staff of the Educational Opportunities Council, EOC National Council members, selected SAEP alumni/ae, education specialists, university and school administrators, and corporate representatives with an interest in the work of the EOC and SAEP. Mokgethi Motlhabi and Buti Tlhagale provided an informative review of the history, organization and operation of the EOC. The visit also afforded an opportunity to establish a working relationship with my co-researcher, sociologist Herbert Vilakazi, and to develop with him a research plan for interviews with SAEP alumni/ae.

Tours of a few secondary schools and university campuses (University of Zululand; Western Cape; Durban-Westville; Witwatersrand; and Cape Town) increased my understanding of the contexts in which applicants had studied. The University of Zululand was closed when I visited; the other African universities that I had hoped to visit had been shut down during

the time of my visit (17 September - 10 October 1984) by student protests. The University of the Western Cape, the scene of police vs. student battles during that period, had reopened prior to my visit to that campus. The newspapers carried accounts of student boycotts and campus conflicts almost daily. Instruction for thousands of blacks had ceased. Secondary and tertiary educational institutions for blacks had been abandoned with only a few weeks remaining in the academic year. Such was the climate for the evaluation of a university-level study abroad program.

In December 1984 during vacation periods in U.S. universities, a conference for SAEP students was held in St. Louis. Approximately 185 students attended the conference. Herbert Vilakazi and I were present as participant-observers. At this stage, the third phase of the research, we noted issues raised by students in open sessions. Financial problems and unsatisfactory placements were prominent issues. A questionnaire (Appendix A) was distributed to students attending the conference; copies of the questionnaire were mailed to absent students. Seventy-six questionnaires were returned. The responses to the questionnaires provided essential demographic data about students and added information about their impressions of their U.S. universities.

In the fourth phase of the study, Vilakazi and I concentrated on contacting and interviewing alumni/ae of the Program who were in South Africa. Letters had been sent to alumni/ae from David Smock and Mokgethi Motlhabi to inform them of the evaluation and invite their participation in the research. On 25 January 1985 telegrams with pre-paid reply forms were sent to alumni/ae requesting appointments for interviews. Of the 74 (M = 59; F = 15) alumni/ae who had completed or terminated their U.S. study programs, we interviewed 40 (M = 32; F = 8) between the end of January and mid-March.

We learned that 12 alumni/ae were in the U.S. or U.K. engaged in further study. (Two were interviewed in the U.S.) Twelve alumni/ae located in South Africa were not available for interviews for a variety of

reasons: distance, their reluctance to participate, or other commitments. The addresses of 10 alumni/ae were unknown; we were unable to contact them or their relatives.

The forty interviewees responded to questions (SAEP ALUMNI INTERVIEW SCHEDULE in Appendix A) about their educational experience, reentry, employment, family life and friends, plans and prospects. Interviews were conducted under diverse conditions. We generally asked to meet at the workplace of the alumnus/a. When that was not feasible, interviews were held in their homes, in our hotel accommodations, or at the EOC office in Johannesburg. Most interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the interviewee. Both Vilakazi and I simultaneously interviewed nearly half of the group. The other interviews were conducted individually. One one occasion, because of schedule conflicts, two alumni arrived at the same time; we interviewed them jointly. In general, interviews required at least 1 1/2 hours. In addition to the tapes, I made notes of the interviewees' responses in our logs.

In summary, the data sources are as follows:

- Questionnaires administered to entering students;
- Questionnaires administered to students in December 1984;
- Interviews with 30 randomly selected entering students;
- Interviews with alumni/ae (N = 40);
- Debriefing questionnaires;
- Reports of academic advisors and foreign student advisors;
- Informal interviews and observations at Orientation 1984 and SAEP Conference in December 1984;
- Miscellaneous accounts of relatives, peers, colleagues and students.

PART 2. PARTICIPANTS

PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

Students who were accepted for study in the U.S. under the auspicies of SAEP between 1979-80 and 1984-85 were distributed with respect to age as follows:

GRADUATE STUDENTS

	f	Age Range	Mean Age
Men	103	21-48 yrs.	29.4
Women	51	20-43 yrs.	27.7

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

Men	107	17-42 yrs.	23.6
Women	29	19-36 yrs.	23.1

Available data indicate that the ratio of men to women is approximately 2:1 in South African universities. Reliable university enrollment data on the gender distribution with respect to race are difficult to obtain. It is assumed that the repre- sentation of graduate women in the Program corresponds to their relative frequency in South African universities; the proportion of undergraduate black women may be greater in South African universities than their representation in the SAEP population, however. There have been fewer women than men in the applicant pool over the years. The applications of women were described as "less compelling" than those of men. A review of recruitment procedures and the selection process with respect to the status of women is required. The Program should attempt to balance the numbers of women and men participants.

GRADUATE STUDENTS

More than half (M = 59; F = 24) of the graduate students had completed their bachelor's degrees and/or honors at black South African universities; a few (M = 9; F = 5) had obtained degrees at white universities. Others (M = 17; F = 4) had attended both black and white universities. Several (M = 19; F = 10) indicated that they had been enrolled in correspondence programs offered by the University of South Africa (UNISA); some held UNISA degrees. A few listed degrees from foreign universities: Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland; Manchester, Wales, and the Bari Institute. Among those who had studied abroad were two who had studied in the U.S.

As candidates, very few students had taken the Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT); however, Graduate Record Examination (GRE) test scores were available for 40 men and 29 women.

TABLE 1.

MEAN GRE SCORES FOR BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS

	Verbal	Quantitative	Analytical
Men			
(N=40)	377	458	392
Women			
(N = 29)	319	314	333

For comparitive purposes, the mean GRE scores of foreign graduate students (N = 4598) during 1981-82 as reported by Wilson (1984) were as follows:

Verbal		Quantitative		Analytical	
Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
360	114	569	144	424	115

(Scores for foreign students were not reported by gender.)

Fields of concentration selected by male graduate students, in order of frequency, were business and management, labor relations, physical science, education and law. Women's preferences were equally distributed among business and management, industrial relations, health sciences, social science, social work and education. The biological and physical sciences appeared least frequently. It should be noted that SAEP's prescribed list of priority fields of study largely shaped the distribution of studies.

UNDERGRADUATES

Nearly two-thirds (18 of the 29) of the undergraduate women had attended universities (most were in black universities) in South Africa before studying in the U.S.; a few had attended teachers' colleges. Sixty-four of the 107 undergraduate men had attended universities before entering U.S. universities. UNISA and Fort Hare had claimed 27 of them. Fifteen had attended white universities; the remainder was distributed throughout other black universities. Several, who had not attended universities, had been enrolled in agricultural and technical colleges.

Undergraduate women indicated a preference for majors in business-related fields. Their other areas of study, in order of frequency were: industrial relations, journalism, education, biological sciences, computer science, and architecture. Majors of men, in terms of frequency, were in the following fields: engineering, business and management, industrial relations, physical science and public administration. Undergraduates' choices were influenced by SAEP's priority fields of study, also.

STUDENTS WHO WITHDREW

Counted among the alumni/ae of the program are students who entered U.S. institutions and then withdrew without completing degree programs. Between 1979-80 and 1984-85, nine students terminated their study programs and returned to South Africa. Three were graduate students and six were undergraduates. Two women undergraduates returned; the seven others were men. They did not complete their degree requirements for various reasons. One of the graduate students experienced irreconcilable cultural conflicts; one was an academic failure; another interrupted his studies to return to an ailing wife. Among the undergraduates in this category were four students who developed incapacitating emotional problems or inappropriate behavioral signs (e.g., hearing the voices of ancestors calling him home in one case). Two other undergraduates withdrew because they found their academic programs incompatible with their career objectives. It is important to note that these students were expected to perform satisfactorily; the indicators of academic ability and personal stability met the criteria for participation. In a "blind" comparison of applications of students who completed their degree programs and those who withdrew, we found that the applications in the latter category were indistinguishable from the former. Given the level of evidence of overall competence presented in applications and interviews, it is unlikely that students with potential emotional problems or with commitments to cultural mores that would conflict with life styles in university communities would be detected.

It should be noted that once these students' problems or issues were identified, college and university personnel, with the aid of SAEP and IIE staff members, attempted to facilitate their coping effectively. Despite institutional and agency efforts, the students were unable to surmount their difficulties. The emotional costs to the students, their relatives, friends and other supporters are incalculable; the expenditure on the part of the Program and participating institutions is not inconsequential either. Early identification of potential leavers and the development of strategies that

will increase the rate of retention should be studied. While retention or, more accurately, attrition is a concern, it is not a grave problem for SAEP.

When one considers the complexity of conditions that might contribute to attrition in this population, the attrition rate seems quite low indeed. Those who know the political, social and personal circumstances of many of the participants must marvel at what is an extraordinary retention rate. There are countless compelling issues that beckon students home to South Africa.

PART 3. ORIENTATION AND THE NEWCOMERS

ORIENTATION

Since 1980-81, the EOC and SAEP have offered orientation programs. The EOC coordinates regionally-based orientation sessions designed to introduce prospective students to the requirements of U.S. universities prior to their leaving South Africa. With the return of increasing numbers of alumni/ae interested in reviewing their U.S. educational and social experiences for prospective students, practical first-hand information about the U.S. has become readily available. Formally, in the EOC organized sessions, and informally, alumni/ae of the Program have made a contribution by imparting the information they have acquired about U.S. institutions, customs, and mores. It is increasingly evident that students who participate in the EOC orientation and/or have been well briefed by alumni/ae and others acquainted with the U.S. enter with a sound understanding of educational and social expectations.

The SAEP orientation program has been based at Denison University in Granville, Ohio since Summer 1982. In a four week orientation program from mid-July through mid-August, students were introduced to several aspects of U.S. higher education. The orientation included an instructional component with remedial mathematics courses; courses on computer skills, study, writing and examination skills and typing; and lectures, discussion groups, workshops and demonstrations that focused on acculturation to U.S. college and university communities. There were excursions and entertainments that afforded students a glimpse of U.S. life styles and values.

A review of reports on the Denison orientations and participation in the 1984 orientation provided a basis for understanding what was accomplished during the period of entry and adaptation. A major accomplishment was associated with what students learned about the sociopolitical structure of South Africa through their exchanges about their backgrounds - African, colored, and Indian.

In discussion groups and informal encounters, they exchanged descriptions of their homes, families, schools and towns. In the course of their exchanges there were confessions, insights and revelations that increased their understanding of how barriers of apartheid had prevented their developing a sense of the variations on oppression. The discussions increased their understanding of the regulations and conditions that determine the opportunities for each group. The discussions were fraught with tension. Life-long prejudices and hostilities were challenged. Out of the confrontations and challenges emerged individuals with racial identities redefined: Africans, coloreds and Indians developed a deeper understanding of themselves as black South Africans with common grievances against apartheid. A side effect of the orientation, then, was the political awakening and unification, at least while abroad, of students from different backgrounds whose circumstances have brought them to a point that they recognized as common ground.

The orientation accomplished its major objectives: students left Denison feeling adequately prepared for the introduction to their colleges and universities. SAEP students and the Denison staff agreed that the orientation was a beneficial entry experience. Students and staff found it rewarding.

To be sure, there were some disagreements about aspects of the orientation. Specifically, they are related to the setting, the length and the

level of the orientation program. With regard to the setting, Granville, Ohio, a town with few cultural and social attractions, was a disappointment to students with cosmopolitan interests; however, students with small town and rural life styles were able to adjust readily to the pace and scale of activities in Granville. That the town offered very few distractions was an advantage to the orientation program and most participants.

Some students felt that a month-long orientation program was about one week longer than necessary; they felt equipped at the end of three weeks to disperse and become acquainted with the communities where they would attend college or university. Within three weeks they probably had acquired adaptation skills and an adequate academic orientation; however, the fourth week afforded them time to resolve some of the issues related to racial and national identity that had surfaced.

Some graduate students stated that level of the orientation program was appropriate for undergraduates; the former indicated that their issues and interests did not receive sufficient attention. In the future, the orientation program should offer a few separate sessions for undergraduates and graduate students.

An undesirable degree of separation was introduced by the departure of Aurora-sponsored students after three weeks of the 1984 orientation. Students and the orientation staff urged that students not be separated in the future. Their leaving Denison prematurely demoralized those who left and those who remained. Group cohesion, the resolution of group and individual issues, and morale would be fostered by the participation of Aurora-sponsored students throughout the orientation program at Denison.

The question of cost-effectiveness of the orientation program has been raised. From every perspective - academic preparation, social development, and political awareness - the Denison orientation program has been highly rewarding. It is cost- effective. It is difficult to assay the extent to which the orientation contributed to overall adjustment and retention; in our

opinion, it made a significant difference in the preparation of students. The educational component was relevant to their needs. In terms of sociopolitical growth, the orientation accomplished much more than anticipated. Furthermore, it provided an opportunity to establish *esprit de corps* and networks of support among the students.

NEWCOMERS: ORIENTATION 1984

The initial session of the 1984 orientation program at Denison University was attended by 72 students, all of whom responded to a "Background Information" questionnaire. Thirty students, selected randomly from the group of SAEP respondents, were invited for individual interviews. The sample of 30 included 14 women and 16 men. Six of the women and seven of the men would enroll in undergraduate programs. The rest were master's level students. Each interview required approximately two hours. The interviewer followed a schedule of 50 open-ended questions (Appendix A). Their responses are summarized.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROGRAM

In response to the question, "How did you first learn about the South African Education Program?", nearly half (13) of the interviewees stated that they first heard about it from a friend, an acquaintance, or a relative.

"A friend who was working at EOC suggested that I apply."

"A friend got a scholarship. She told me how to apply."

"I was told about it by a friend who had studied in the U.S."

Several (8) students cited newspaper advertisements as their source of information about the program. Some (7) reported that they were informed by a teacher or principal, an adviser or employer. "I saw an announcement in our newspaper" or "I was working for an American company. My boss urged me to apply." A few saw the announcement on a bulletin board at a university or at USIS. Additional information about the program was gathered from similar sources: friends, teachers, advisers at the USIS Cultural Center, and from their interviewers, i.e., EOC panelists. They learned about the sponsorship of the program; that it offers adequate financial support; that it is exclusively for blacks; that undergraduates are eligible; and that it is a "good" program.

Their reasons for applying revealed the aspirations of some and the difficulties or disappointments that others had experienced. Their difficulties and disappointments revealed problems that were encountered frequently. "At Wits, I was experiencing lots of problems because I could not be in residence. I had a two hour (one way) trip. At home I shared a room with a younger brother. It was difficult to concentrate on my studies." The inconvenience of a long commute to a university was often mentioned. Inadequacies in some academic offerings ("I was doing honors in Educational Psychology but there was no practicum.") prompted a few to apply. Failure to gain "ministerial consent" to attend Witswatersrand was the explanation a student gave for her application.

One-fifth of the students spoke of their aspirations when asked why they had applied. "In my life, I wanted to be a graduate."

"I was a personnel officer. I wanted to be trained in marketing. I decided I needed qualifications."

"I had worked temporarily as a junior lecturer for UNISA. To qualify for a permanent post, I would need very good qualifications."

A few applied because they wanted to pursue specific areas of study (e.g., public health and computer science) in the United States; a few others merely wished to study abroad. And a few applied because colleagues urged them to.

When they reflected on the application process, several cited a variety of reasons for anxieties and frustrations: obtaining academic records and letters of reference; taking SATs and GREs and reproducing lost forms. The most frequently mentioned period of frustration was the interval of approximately one year between completion of the application process and the moment of notification of acceptance or placement.

FAMILY AND FRIENDS: REACTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

For most (23) of the respondents, the flight to the U.S. was the first trip outside South Africa. Those who had traveled abroad had been to other countries in Southern Africa with the exception of two: a man who had spent two weeks in the United Kingdom and a woman who had traveled with her family in the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Pakistan, and India.

Understandably, the question about their family responsibilities while in the United States and reactions to their studying in the United States aroused a sense of the distance from home and an awareness of being in a

foreign country. One-third of the students expressed concerns about the health and well-being of their parents, some of them "pensioners." Several students, parents themselves, spoke of their concerns about their children. Six of the 14 women are mothers; all of them mentioned children who were being cared for by their fathers (2 cases) and other relatives. The sample included 8 fathers, 2 of whom spoke of their children as responsibilities. There were less frequent references to siblings, spouses, or grandparents. Financial concerns during their years in the United States were cited by a few who "used to contribute to family expenses" or "rearranged their savings" to provide support for a parent and in-laws. Nine of the respondents, most of them younger, indicated that they did not expect to be concerned about family members or affairs during their time abroad.

"How do your relatives feel about your studying in the United States? What are their hopes for you and what are their fears?" In general, students reported that they had the encouragement and support of significant others - - parent or spouse. Among the responses were the following:

"My parents encouraged me all the way."

"My parents are in favor of it. They never had a chance. They are pleased that I'll have a chance to uplift their standard. Even my in-laws are in favor, although they depend on our financial support."

Only one student, a woman who had left her nine-year old son in the care of her mother, reported that her mother was "a bit worried. She knows I am ambitious. She could not convince me otherwise. She just let me go."

They left with great hopes on the part of their relatives. Their hopes: "I will be successful professionally. I will some day have my Ph.D." "They want me to realize the things I want to achieve."

"They hope that I will bring back new ideas to our black society and

lift their name."

"They want me to come back and make a contribution to my community."

"My mother hopes I will finish my degree, go back and start supporting her."

"They hope that I'll come back home and be with them."

Returning home or the possibility of not returning was a theme in the responses of one-third of the students as they spoke of relatives' fears:

"They are afraid that I might not want to come back."

"Some people don't come back."

"I might get lost in America...I might not go back home."

Other fears were associated with their being changed in undesirable ways by their years in the United States: "I'll be alienated from them." "They don't want me to lose my Christianity along the way." "They are afraid that I will abandon their religious teachings." Some relatives were said to be concerned about their health and safety: "I'll get mugged." "I had an uncle who died in America. My mother is afraid that I might die over here." The nearly unspeakable fear, uttered in a voice that would ward off the possibility, was the fear of failure. "No one wants to speak about it. It would be going home empty-handed." "That I should come back holding nothing."

For two women the fear of their not returning was associated with the possibility of marriage in the United States. As one stated: "My grandmother is afraid that I might meet a black American and get married and forget about her."

Most frequent among the fears attributed to their friends are the possibilities of not returning to South Africa and/or marrying an American. Again, women only (and not those cited above) mentioned marriage in this

context:

"Don't get married in the States and forget about home."

"I must not marry an American."

"You might marry a white man."

Friends, too, are described as fearing they may be changed while in the United States: "Some are disillusioned with America for political reasons. They feel I will become more capitalistic...I'll come back a changed man; changed for the worse; more interested in myself and less interested in the struggle for the liberation of black people."

Other fears attributed to friends concerned health and safety, forgetting religion, failure, and not returning to the same position or community. One man said his friends feared that "whites would stand in my way and prevent my getting a visa" or interfere with his program while he is in the United States. Approximately one-third of the students said that their friends had no fears or "did not voice any fears" for them.

Nearly all reported that their friends had hopes for them, however, their hopes centered around their making a success of the opportunity, carrying out a mission, acquiring a degree. Beyond that, several reported that their friends would have them make a social contribution:

"I'll return and be of help to them and to the nation."

"I will go back and change the situation in education."

"They look to me as someone who will throw some light on them."

They described the reactions of their friends in these terms; They were "ecstatic," "excited," "thrilled," "elated." "They were very impressed. My coming motivated them." A few said that their friends are now "thinking of applying." A few reported that some friends were jealous or envious; that they "wished they were coming."

Although they were not asked to reveal their own hopes and fears regarding their sojourn in the United States, one can surmise that theirs are

in the domain of hopes and fears attributed to their relatives and friends.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Throughout each interview, there was abundant evidence of the students' commitment to academic achievement. If they had not been placed in U.S. colleges or universities, most of them would have continued their education in an institution in South Africa, according to their accounts. Some alternatives: completing honors while teaching; enrolling in a master's program with UNISA; continuing degree work at another South African university.

Among the universities they had attended were Fort Hare, the University of the North, and the University of Zululand; Durban-Westville and Western Cape; the University of Cape Town, the University of Natal, Rhodes and Witwatersrand; UNISA and Peninsula Technikon. Their recollections and perceptions of the educational climate at these diverse institutions explained, in part, their interest in educational alternatives. For example, one of the black universities was described by those who had studied there as follows:

"You are encouraged to cram and reproduce. If you challenge lecturers, you can be victimized. You don't find a good student-lecturer relationship there."

"It depends on who is teaching. Some want you to memorize and reproduce the notes they give you. Others expect you to produce your own work. To do well, you have to understand the style of your lecturer."

"It depends on the Faculty you are in. In some Faculties, lecturers have good qualifications. There is poor quality teaching in the sciences. Whites believe blacks don't understand sciences. That's how they look at us."

"They use a single textbook. The lecturer is regarded as the authority. You are tested on lectures and the text."

"The lecturers were white. They had taught in Afrikaans-speaking

universities. They have problems with English... They stick to the text. Few lecturers use the discussion method, and students dislike discussion because they are used to cramming."

"Lecturers make you feel you are not going to make it, that you are wasting their time. It is not fortunate for your studies, not encouraging."

A student spoke of his "fears about failing" while he attended a black university. He added: "People do fail. You have to show exceptional performance to make a name as a good student. Lecturers always talked about failure."

A man who had studied at a black university in the 1970's said that he did not feel he had a "good working relationship with lecturers. You were never free, not even to ask questions. " A woman who had studied there recently said, "Everybody expected us to memorize. You were not free to speak with the lecturer if you had problems." From the recent memory of another alumnus came this image: "They have miserable faces. People do not enjoy what they are doing there. Getting the degree is important. We studied to pass, not to understand. We looked at lecturers as the enemy. They looked at us as a threat. It was tense."

After receiving a bachelor's degree from a black university, a student who later studied at a white university "realized what she had missed" in a university education. Spurred by the "challenge of white students," she reported that she "learned a lot". Another student who began her studies there reported that she "never felt relaxed." She added, "white students were aloof and we black students were not forthcoming."

Four who had studied at another white university spoke of dissatisfactions with the university. "The Faculties were good, but we had no contact with lecturers. We only saw them in passing." "The lecturers, at face value, were fine. They had the British attitude. Deep down, however, they are negative. In a class of fifty, there were nine blacks, only one of whom passed the thesis." A graduate student noted that there was not

much interaction between students and lecturers. An undergraduate reported that she "could not cope" at the university. She said that she "had to leave" because she "could not get on with the whites."

At another white university, a student found "excellent" lecturers who "concentrated on giving students individual attention." The same student, when asked how her activities and performance were influenced by the racial composition of the student body, replied: "I did what I came to do. I did not participate in any social or extramural activities. I participated in tutorials. My mother said, ' You have gone there to do something. Do it as best you can. Put your pride in your pocket.'"

Some students who had been enrolled in white universities characterized their experience primarily in terms of their interactions with other students.

"It was not very easy to work. White students are hard-hearted. You can't sit next to them...I asked a white student for her notes and she would not lend them." (Undergraduate male)

"I didn't do too well in my studies because of adjusting to cultural problems. Students were very nice, very friendly and open. The problem was with me. I was made to think I was inferior. It was hard to adjust."
(Undergraduate female)

"In my class, there were seven black students in a class of ninety. We did not establish close relationships with them (whites). There were opportunities for discussion during school time but not on weekends."
(Undergraduate male)

"Blacks were usually submerged. In literature courses, for example, when you wanted to comment on something, white students would laugh at you. It was discouraging."
(Undergraduate male)

"In the white universities, there is pressure of racial discrimination. Black students isolate themselves. When you want to take part in activities, it is like the 'oreo business.' Blacks are not priviledged in white universities. When there are boycotts in black universities, you are expected to sympathize and boycott in white universities; otherwise black students will put a black spot on you."

(Undergraduate female)

"At first it was hard; at the end, it did not bother me as much but it was always tense. There were three of us in classes of 60 to 250 students. Sometimes I was the only one."

(Graduate male)

"There was a highly competitive spirit between black and white students. Some white students were paternalistic; for example, a person would turn to you and say, 'Do you understand?'. Some were domineering. Initially we were withdrawn. We were not used to the system. Lecturers were helpful. They understood our backgrounds."

(Graduate female)

There were among the responses references to the attitudes and behavior of lecturers. An undergraduate complained about "a problem with the lecturers who were Afrikaans-speaking. "They had a poor command of English and sometimes were reluctant to speak English." Lecturers as well as peers contributed to a climate that influenced one student's self-image in this way:

"In school I was very active in student organizations. I was regarded as leadership material. When you go to a white university, you get inhibited. Your self-confidence drops dramatically. I used to be a high achiever. I became resigned to passing. I was not able to get involved with the material or the lecturers."

(Graduate female)

A few students stated that their participation in social activities and "extramurals" was restricted in white universities. "I used to play netball and hockey...At _____ I did not participate in any social or extramural activities." Another undergraduate woman stated that "at the University of _____ there were many gym facilities and courts. Black student body representatives felt that blacks should not use the facilities. If you had an interest in using the range of opportunities or facilities, they would label you 'non-white'."

One may assume that there are several sources of restrictive policies and attitudes within the white universities that make it impossible to realize one's potential or to approximate one's optimal performance, and that black students are much more restricted in this regard than whites. Only two students claimed that they were not influenced by the racial composition of the student population at their respective institutions. One stated, "My performance was not influenced by their presence. My English is proficient." Defensively, the other said, "I don't mind how they are, as long as they don't interfere with my study. I am above their criticism." (This statement was followed by the student's account of his having been sponsored by a white lecturer who later rejected his thesis, a story told with the bitterness of one betrayed.)

Black students who adapted successfully in the white South African universities were less likely to be in the population of applicants to SAEP than were students whose experiences were adverse or negative. Reports of dissatisfactions with white universities, therefore, were not surprising.

The nature and extent of the dissatisfactions of the dozen students who had attended white universities raised questions about the wider range of educational opportunities and social encounters of black students in South Africa's white universities.

Several students who would attend racially integrated universities for the first time in the United States expected that their performance would be

positively influenced in predominately white universities. They had heard that the "discussion method" of instruction would be beneficial to performance. If they did not expect their performance to be enhanced in the (white) U.S. university, they expected at least to be judged on the basis of ability. "Here in a free society, no one cares about my color or where I've come from. All I've got to do is show my ability." "They are going to take me as any other student."

"I'll accept them for who they are and expect to be accepted for who I am."

"The lecturers will be impartial; my grades will be a true reflection of my work."

With regard to studying in white universities in the United States, a student expressed some concern about her academic preparation and another about his anticipated adjustment problem. Only one said she did not know what to expect in terms of the influence of whites on her activities or performance.

Approximately two-thirds of the students described their academic records and previous academic performance as "above average," "very good," or "excellent". Eight characterized their records and performance as "average" or "mediocre," and one student said his record and performance were below average. A few students stated that their performance had been affected adversely by the race of lecturers in black and white universities. A student who attended a white technikon attributed a decline in performance to race-related factors: "It was the first time I had had a white teacher. The lecturers gave incomplete explanations. They gave more attention to white students." There were team projects and, according to his account, "black students were not included in teams." He said that he had to struggle to pass. A few students who had attended black universities stated that the "attitudes of white lecturers" contributed to their poor performance.

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

Most of the students had a catalogue-acquaintance with their prospective colleges and universities when they arrived; only four stated that they had not received any information about their future institutions. Beyond the information derived from catalogues, a few indicated that other sources had shaped their impressions of the places where they would enroll.

Some had impressions of the social climate of the university or the region. For example, one student's view of the University of Massachusetts - Amherst is that "the community is conservative." A student en route to Wake Forest had been told by a friend that North Carolina is Ku Klux Klan territory; another friend had assured her that the terrorism of the KKK has ceased and that she has "no need to fear." Another, who would be at Louisiana State University had heard that there is "quite a bit of discrimination" in Louisiana.

Some students placed at black universities in the U.S. had reservations about them. One of them volunteered, "Those who are going to white campuses are luckier than we. They say that blacks are somewhat distant." Another said that he "would have preferred a university with more of a racial mix."

When asked about impressions of U.S. colleges and universities in general, a graduate student said that there is skepticism in South Africa about U.S. higher education. "It sounds as if exams are easy. In South Africa, there is a high failure rate; in American universities, black South Africans do well. That raises questions about standards." A similar statement was offered by another who spoke of the "bad attitude of South Africans who think the standard of education in America is low. They think so because those who do not do well in South Africa make it here." He added, "America has better teachers." Views related to standards in U.S. universities were reflected in the comments of other students:

"There was a time when they thought American degrees were 'cheap'; now they know you have to work hard here."

(Graduate female)

"If you work hard, you don't fail. We (once) thought that American universities were easy because students didn't fail."

(Undergraduate female)

"Everyone has a chance of passing if you prove yourself."

(Undergraduate male)

"Everybody who has been abroad said if you deserve to pass and work hard, you pass. There is no discrimination. It goes according to your ability."

(Undergraduate female)

"Lecturers are helpful to students. They encourage you. They want to pass you. They go all out for you. Students fail only if they do not work."

(Graduate female)

Undertaking their studies in the United States with the expectation of having a chance to pass if one works hard and proves oneself may enhance performance and contribute to academic success. (One is reminded of Robert Rosenthal's Pygmalion in the Classroom.) Certainly a sanguine outlook with expectations of good performance on their part and expectations of support from instructors would increase the likelihood of improved performance in U.S. institutions.

Another set of impressions of U.S. universities is related to the importance of participation in class discussions. A few students mentioned that class participation is important or that one is "expected to ask questions and to respond in class." Some students appeared eager to have an opportunity to express their views in classes; others implied that they would have to become accustomed to the practice of speaking in class.

Several students had generally positive impressions of U.S. colleges and universities. One had "heard American education is the best"; another that "most universities are very good and that there is a high degree of competitiveness among students." Another said, "The universities in the states are good. They produce the best results. Lecturers are helpful. They have the best facilities. The libraries are superior. Almost everything is conducive to study."

Their impressions of other aspects of U.S. colleges and universities were: they are student-oriented; they are large; administrators are flexible; there is more time for the individual and his problems - especially in the small college; some college students use drugs and alcohol.

Identified as sources of their impressions were friends and acquaintances who had studied in the United States, lecturers, reference books (Barron's), information provided in the orientation program in South Africa, and television programs.

COPING WITH PROBLEMS

Approximately two-thirds of the students (12 women and 9 men) were apprehensive about problems that might hinder their progress or performance. Mentioned most frequently as two possible sources of interference were (1) potential problems at home - illness or death in the family; and (2) inadequate academic preparation, a concern cited by five students, all of whom were entering master's programs. One student feared that "there might be a gap between my education and the level of students who prepared in the States. There are many more journals here. Books and journals from the States arrive late. They are far ahead of us."

Other apprehensions pertained to finding suitable living

accommodations or compatible roommates, developing proficiency in English, and becoming "adjusted". One respondent felt that the expression of racist attitudes by whites would hinder her work. Two others mentioned financial problems (related to medical expenses for one and the cost of books for the other) that might interfere with progress.

On the subject of financial concerns, most of the students expected to find their stipends adequate. One woman stated, "I expect to live within my means. I will avoid unnecessary debts. I may need to save some money. I cannot expect any money from home." A few students were uncertain about the cost of accommodations and other living expenses. Two students said that they would borrow from relatives should they have financial problems.

When students reflected on how they have coped with problems in the past, several offered as examples social or psychological problems. Among them were an unwanted pregnancy and a serious drinking problem. Several coping styles were described, with four or five students subscribing to each: reliance on relatives or friends for support; engaging in physical activity - exercise, dance, or sport; active problem-solving approaches; and repression. One student mentioned turning to inspirational literature and radio programs in troubled times. Another said that her sense of humor had sustained her; and another acknowledged a depression of several months related to a personal problem.

It is interesting to note that more women than men acknowledged apprehension about problems that might hinder their progress. In this regard, they resemble U.S. students, with women students more likely than men to reveal their concerns about problems.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF U.S. STUDY

For half of the students (10 graduate and 5 undergraduate), the major benefits they expect are improvements in professional performance and in their career opportunities; and they expect to increase their knowledge in specialized fields. The benefits from the perspective of an engineering student are as follows: "There will be professional gains. I will learn the techniques of how they design and construct things in America. It will set me on a speciality. I will understand whites in my profession better. The American system of education with a high level of interaction will help me in meetings back home." Several students mentioned that their training abroad will increase their capacity for contributions to their communities at home; they expect to be able to "motivate" others, to use their knowledge to help their communities, and to "do something about the educational situation for the whole of South Africa." A few mentioned that they expect to develop more professional confidence: "I will be confident enough to read papers at conferences and submit papers for publication."

Psychological benefits of study in the United States were noted by a man who said, "I will feel less pressurized than I would feel in South Africa. My area of study, labor relations, is a fairly contentious area in South Africa. It is contentious because I am labeled as radical and because of my color. Here I won't have to be wary."

The fear that their degrees, qualifications, or experience may not be recognized troubled several students:

"If you study abroad, they will try to undermine your qualifications. The Afrikaans-speaking will try to discredit an American degree--not the English-speaking."

"Whether the degree will be recognized may be a problem."

"I am going back to a company where many people are not educated. They are Afrikaners. I worked there for 3-1/2 years and they did not accept me...I don't think the labor studies I learn will be applicable in South Africa. You can imagine the frustration."

Readjusting to South African conventions after a liberating sojourn was mentioned by a few students who anticipated that there will be "those who will resent my interest in changing things" or fear that "after experiencing freedom, we might say things that will get us in trouble."

With the focus on personal and social advantages, several students stated that they expect that their social and political status will be enhanced among blacks:

"I will be held in higher esteem, regarded as well educated, well traveled, well versed."

"In the community, I will be a leader. My child and my family will want to copy me."

Several others stated, in general terms, that they expect to be better informed, more independent, more "culturally mature."

"Meeting new people will help back home...will help me to understand people more."

"Getting to know different groups of people - like Nigerians and Malaysians. We will get to know American blacks about whom we have heard so much for so long, whose music we like. The more one travels, the more one's mind is broadened."

Increasing one's value to his or her community was mentioned as an advantage.

"I am here to help my people. I was an altar boy. I never wanted a big mansion. I want to be able to help my brothers."

"Friends say, 'You are representing us when you are overseas.' They expect me to help improve their lot in one way or another." After a pause, he added, "Education is a system that helps you adjust far better to your situation. In America it appears many people are educated. I was among the first from my village to go to university."

When we turned to an assessment of the personal and social disadvantages of studying in the United States, it was the separation from relatives and close friends or simply "missing home" that was mentioned most frequently. One woman signed, "I miss my children so much." It should be noted that 8 of the women students cited the separation from home as a disadvantage, while only 2 men's responses are in that category. Nearly half (7 out of 16) men indicated that there are no personal and social disadvantages. For a few, the disadvantages are associated with being viewed as different - more privileged, superior, or an "object of curiosity" - to a degree that would set them apart from their friends.

PERSONAL CHANGE

In response to our inquiry about their potential for personal change as a consequence of their experience, eight (3 male and 5 female) students asserted that they do not expect to change during their years in the United States. An undergraduate woman said that she "would not like to change." The responses of those who anticipate changes were scattered, with a few in each of these categories: (a) increase in knowledge; (b) become more mature; (c) will speak more freely; (d) increase in level of confidence; (e) will be more independent; and (f) able to meet and mingle with other races.

Cautiously one student said, "There might be some changes. I've never been in the white community. It might change my attitude toward whites." He added that he should not assume that "American whites" are like South African whites.

"SUCCESSFUL OUTCOMES"

The possibility of contributing to black advancement, furthering black education, and serving the community were the most frequent (17) responses to the question about what would constitute a "successful outcome" for Program participants. In the words of one student, "For IIE, success would be 100 percent of the people here returning to help at home." Merely completing the degree programs would be a success for the Program in the opinion of a few. A successful outcome from the perspective of one man was described as follows: "If they go back to South Africa, stay humble, identify with the people and not become elite." And for another, "Exposing South African blacks to a more open society, orienting them so they can think of ways of getting things done back home" would be a successful outcome for the Program.

As for their expectations regarding a successful outcome in individual terms, there was a concentration of interest in acquiring or improving professional skills and increasing levels of competence in specific areas of study or occupations. Many respondents cited sound academic performance or the completion of their degrees as the criterion for personal success. To make a contribution to one's community or to improve the situation "back home" would be a successful outcome in personal terms for several students. For a few, the criteria are related to personal growth and development.

The reply of a male undergraduate summarizes the responses of others: "Having achieved the goals I have set; having a new concept of myself; being able to contribute in a better manner; having a qualifying experience; being qualified in faraway places. People will say, 'He was exported and has imported an education.'"

A "comfortable salary", an increase in material goods, a higher standard of living were the criteria of personal success mentioned by a few. Fewer spoke of becoming leaders in their communities or models for others. Pride and personal satisfaction were mentioned by two women students, one (an

undergraduate) who said:

"I want to get my degree in '88. I want to be proud of what I have done in the States. I want my friends to be proud of me."

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

With regard to their educational expectations and aspirations, 24 of the 30 interviewees stated that they have plans beyond their degree programs in the United States. Students in master's programs expect to pursue doctorates; all the undergraduates aspire to master's and/or doctoral level training. A few of them indicated that they wished to continue their studies in the United States or in South Africa; the remainder did not mention where they wished to coninue their studies. The few students who did not have further educational plans or who were undecided were entering master's programs.

EMPLOYMENT BACKGROUNDS AND CAREER PROSPECTS

The employment histories of the students include a variety of occupations. Twelve (3 of whom are entering undergraduate programs) had been teachers or lecturers. Five (men) of the 12 had held positions in other occupational categories: they have done clerical work, held sales and marketing positions, worked in factories, been employed as unskilled laborers and domestic servants. In all, one-third (5 women and 5 men) of the respondents have held clerical or secretarial positions. Fewer (8) students reported that they had been engaged in professional or quasi-professional occupations other than teaching; among them were a nurse, a pharmacist, a research assistant, and a laboratory technician. Two students had been in computer-related training programs. And two undergraduate women reported that they had never been employed.

Students were asked to describe their career plans and to specify how they expect to be engaged 5 years and 20 years hence. Twelve (9 undergraduates) students stated that they would like to be in advanced degree programs in 5 years. Three indicated that they expect to combine work in health care administration, teaching, or town planning with their studies. An equal number (11 graduate students and 1 undergraduate) told us that they expect to be engaged in education five years hence as teachers, lecturers, and educational administrators. Managerial work and corporate consulting are in the 5-year-plans of some. Two undergraduates aspire to careers in planning and pharmacy; graduate students expect to pursue careers in engineering, nursing, and psychology.

In 20 years, most expect to hold more advanced positions in their chosen fields. The students' career expectations (20 years from now) are given in Table 2.

Some observers have suggested that the occupational aspirations of returnees do not correspond to the realities of the opportunity structure of occupations in South Africa. The long-range occupational objectives of this group may interest those observers. A study of the development and change in occupational expectations of this group of students over a 20-year period to determine the influences that shape the courses of their careers would be worthwhile.

Whether and to what extent occupational objectives and career aspirations might differ if their opportunities and resources were not limited was a topic of interest. Under different circumstances, would they have pursued different careers? Each student was asked what type of career she or he would pursue "if there were no limits on opportunities or resources." In response, one woman asked, "You want to see if we are highly motivated?" She then said she would want to be "on the Board of Directors." After a moment of reflection, she added, "That is a dream not to be realized...a black woman heading a company."

Nearly half of the students indicated that their career choices would be the same even if their opportunities and resources were unlimited. The others would pursue, in general, the same career orientation with a higher level position as an objective. The occupations presented in parentheses in Table 2 would be their choices if there were no limitations.

TABLE 2

CAREER EXPECTATIONS 20 YEARS HENCE AND CHOICES[1] "IF THERE WERE NO LIMITS"

	WOMEN		MEN
*	Pharmacist (Medical Doctor)	*	Pharmacist (Medical Doctor)
*	Teacher (International Lawyer)	*	Manager of Engineering Firm (Professor of Engineering at Wits or UCT)
*	Marine Biologist (Same)		Consultant of Small Business (same)
	Teacher (Medical Doctor) (same)		Manager of Engineering Firm
	Owner/Director of Marketing Agency (Same)	*	Teacher (Same)
*	Psychologist (Same)		Industrial Relations Manager (Same)
*	Teacher (Same)	*	Biochemist (Medical Doctor)
	Teacher (Social Worker)	*	Teacher (Electronic Engineer)
	Teacher (Medical Doctor or Psychologist)		Businessman (Lawyer)

Labor Manager (Consultant)	* Engineer (Same)
Psychologist (Same)	* Corporate Board Member (Same)
Lecturer in Nursing (Home Economist)	* Urban Planner (Same)
Lecturer in Education or School Inspector (Director of Education in South Africa	University Administrator or (Same)
* Personnel Manager (Same)	Lecturer (Same)
	Teacher or Researcher (Journalist)
	Minister of Education (Same)

[1] Choices if there were no "limits" on opportunities or resources are given in parentheses.

* Undergraduate in 1984-5.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Without exception and with exceptional expressions of sincerity and commitment, students stated ways in which they expect to "contribute to black advancement in South Africa and to the future of South Africa." The most frequent references were through education. Some specified the importance of teaching in black institutions. One man stated that his aims were more "educational than political"; and a woman stated that, although she will not join a political organization, she will "support the struggle" and "contribute to change" through education. Another said, "I stake my life on seeing every black person getting educated. Education is one of the best weapons."

Others expect to contribute to black education through working in their communities, organizing community groups, and working in church organizations.

PART 4. STUDENT LIFE AND ASPIRATIONS

UNDERGRADUATES

This section is based on questionnaire responses of 48 undergraduates (M = 37; F = 11) among the SAEP students who attended the December 1984 conference in St. Louis. Ranging in age from 20 to 37 years (M: 20-37; F: 20-31), they represented different insti- tutions and academic interests: they were from public and independent colleges and universities with small, medium and large enrollments and they had come from every region of the U.S. Sixteen were in the freshman year; the remainder were distributed nearly equally over the sophomore, junior and senior years. The fields of study in which men were enrolled differed from the choices of women. Men were in engineering (12); economics, computer science, and mathematics (6); physics and chemistry (5); business administration, finance, and accounting (4); agronomy and agribusiness (2); and English (2). Other areas represented (1 student in each major) were education, linguistics, history, geology, regional planning and veterinary science. The following majors reflect the interests of women surveyed: biology (3); communications and journalism (3); business administration and accounting (2); industrial relations (2); and English (1).

Asked to compare their academic performance with the performance of other students at the institutions they were attending, the students judged their work very favorably. The category most frequently checked by women and men was "better than most"; a few indicated "best in the class"; and a few checked "average". Three students indicated that they were "unable to judge" their performance in relative terms; they had not yet received grades. Only one student, a man, described his performance as "below average".

The traits most frequently ascribed to their U.S. classmates were as follows: competitive, individualistic, conservative, and immature. To be sure, their opinions of other students were associated with the character of the institution, its composition and regional influences. And, to be sure, more complimentary descriptions were offered. Students in highly selective insti- tutions characterized their fellow students as bright and highly motivated. Students in urban universities described other students as mature and hard working. In small colleges, fellow students were said to be friendly. Several students indicated that they had observed or experienced a considerable degree of social distance between U.S. black students and African students; a student in a predominantly black university stated that the other students were "indifferent or antagonistic toward African students." U.S. students, generally, were considered lacking in knowledge of world affairs and U.S. foreign policy; they were scarcely acquainted with the geography and politics of southern Africa.

Impressions of faculty members, contrastingly, were usually positive. They were viewed as approachable, available, and as well-prepared, good teachers. Some students made distinctions in their appraisals, indicating their recognition of different levels in quality of teaching. For example, a student said, "Some have poor methods of instruction, others have excellent methods." A few students have encountered attitudes that are problematic: "Some [faculty members] have negative attitudes toward Third World students." A student from another university observed, "Most are helpful but some have racial or national prejudice." The more frequent remarks, however, were favorable:

"Most of the faculty members are easy to communicate with, good instructors, and very helpful. There are very few exceptions to this."

"7/10 are superior, confident, and authoritative."

"They really care for me. They want to see my progress and success."

"Most faculty members treat the students as their equals, unlike in South Africa where lecturers tend to be condescending."

"They go all out to help students."

"They treat all students equally."

"They provide mental security as well as motivation."

Different students stressed different aspects of faculty- student interaction. The overall response was one of satisfaction with the quality of faculty members they have encountered.

According to their reports, their experiences in U.S. universities have changed their images of themselves as students and intellectual beings. The changes have been positive. Asked what they had learned about themselves as students, they responded as follows:

"I discovered my abilities in areas which I thought were problematic while in South Africa."

"I can compete with any student."

"I am more capable than I had been made to believe."

These and many other similar expressions of the development of academic confidence and the recognition of their own intellectual capabilities are an important dimension of their experience. In addition to their acquiring knowledge and skills, their revised perceptions of themselves as intellectually competent and academically capable individuals contribute to their self- confidence and capacity for learning.

Two-thirds of these undergraduates expect to pursue a degree (Master's, Ph.D., or professional degree) beyond the baccalaureate. The remainder, older students and engineering majors, regard the baccalaureate as their terminal degree. When asked about their aspirations five years hence, several stated that they expect to be studying

for an advanced degree. The others said that they expect to be teaching, doing research, working for a corporation or involved in community projects. Their aspirations twenty years hence are extensions of their fields of concentration and five year plans: for example, a computer science major who wants to obtain a Ph.D. aspires to the chairmanship of the Computer Science Department at the University of the Western Cape twenty years from now. A woman who plans to study optometry expects to be working as an optometrist. A future financial analyst would like to be a comptroller or company treasurer. The veterinary science major would like to be responsible for a regional animal and veterinary service in five years and, in twenty years, Minister of Agriculture in KwaZulu. In general, they view themselves as high school teachers, university lecturers, in corporate executive posts, working in publishing, communications, computer science and engineering. Men were more specific than women with respect to occupational titles and presented clearer images of their vocational aspirations than did women. A few men also included "being married" or "making a family" among their aspirations whereas none of the women mentioned marriage or family life in this context.

Some employers, career counsellors and educators in South Africa claim that the aspirations of blacks who study abroad are unrealistically high and exceed levels of training. They claim that returnees are difficult to place because they seem to expect higher status positions than their qualifications warrant. The aspirations of these undergraduates, however, seem realistic and compatible with their plans for further training. Indeed, their aspirations seem relatively conservative or modest. Their assessment of the opportunity structure in South Africa may constrict their occupational aspirations considerably. Many of the students had held jobs as youths and between periods of study. Men listed the following among their previous jobs: garden boy, farm laborer, construction worker, clerk, messenger, interviewer, shop assistant, draftsman and teacher. The women had been employed as factory worker, domestic servant, shop assistant, supermarket packer, cashier, market researcher or teacher. Their own work experience and their observations of their elders' employment opportunities contributed to realistic appraisals of the world

of work in South Africa. They are the sons and daughters of fathers who have had a variety of occupations. Six indicated that their fathers were laborers; another six said their fathers were teachers. Other job titles listed as fathers' occupations were these: domestic servant, mechanic, builder, rigger, driver, farmer, clerk, policeman, salesman, personnel manager, and lawyer. Twenty-five percent of the students listed "housewife" as mother's occupation. Next in terms of frequency were teachers, domestic servants and nurses. The other occupations their mothers held were these: clerk, seamstress, saleswoman, laborer and minister.

More than half the respondents reported that they were reared by both their parents while the remainder stated that they grew up in households headed by their mothers, by grandparents or in extended family households. All of them had one or more siblings; four was the modal number of siblings.

A large majority of the students indicated Catholic, Protestant, or Christian as their religious affiliations. Islam and Hinduism were cited by a few respondents. Ancestor worship was listed by one man. Half a dozen students responded with "none" to the religious affiliation item.

In their college and university communities in the U.S., approximately 1/3 of the students had host families. Most reported that they had been invited to the homes of their host families on holidays or other special occasions. An association with a host family contributes significantly to the social dimension of a student's experience.

The level of social satisfaction with their U.S. experience seemed higher among men than among women. A higher level of participation in extracurricular activities, including sports, among men and greater opportunity for initiation of social contacts on the part of men were relevant to their satisfaction. The dissatisfactions expressed by men were related to expressions of racial prejudice, aloofness of other students (particularly "American Blacks"), and cultural elements that are not conducive to social interaction, e.g., "noisy rock musical dances". The range

of reasons for social dissatisfaction among women is considerably broader. One woman said, "I have absolutely no social life. _____College is in a very remote area in _____where there is nowhere to go at all. It is a very isolated place with hardly anyone from Africa, let alone South Africa." Another lamented, "The age difference between me (b. 1953) and other students makes my social life almost nil. My choice of friends is limited." And another observed, "Many social activities are geared towards meeting people. Many people...are not interested in meeting foreigners." Isolation and loneliness are common themes, especially in the reports of women students. Aside from social isolation and loneliness, there are other experiences that contribute to a sense of alienation expressed more frequently by women than by men. An example follows:

"The students at my college are not on my 'wavelength'. The average American student (in my experience and opinion) has a disturbing lack of social responsibility which I can neither understand nor accommodate." Several students cited U.S. students' ignorance of geography and international affairs as contributing to the anomie experienced by the South Africans. A student wrote, "I hope that the U.S. can have more world news to inform their people about other countries, other than the U.S. I know that I don't know everything about the world but at least I know something. Questions reflecting the students' ignorance get palling after a while. However, I feel like an ambassador of South Africa and that is how the students react to me!"

GRADUATE STUDENTS

Twenty eight (F = 12; M = 16) graduate students who attended the December 1984 Conference responded to the questionnaire. Ranging in age from 24 to 43 (M: 24-43 yrs; F: 24-37 yrs.) years with 9 (M = 6; F = 3) married and 19 (M = 10; F = 9) single, they represented a diverse group with respect to fields of study. Men were concentrating in engineering, labor studies and education (3 in each field); development economics, industrial pharmacy, management, biological science, psychology and

public administration. Women had chosen social work (f=4), ESL and linguistics (f=3); psychology, labor relations, education and library science. According to their assessments, they were "average" or "better than most" in their classes. Their GPA's, according to their reports, are 3.0 and above. A few of them reported problems related to academic adjustment: some of them were associated with communication. For example, one student said, "It was difficult to understand American accents." Another stated, "I am not used to participating actively in class." For others, the adjustment was associated with placement. "I had applied for a nursing education master's but was placed in higher education." "I was placed in a college that offers no program in my field." "When I was at _____University, I didn't like the program. I transferred." A few problems were associated with the workload and pace of instruction. "There was a lot of reading to be done in a short time."

Their descriptions of other students (U.S. and other foreign) in the universities were as follows: they are competitive, highly motivated and pleasant although some are superficial. Other characterizations of their fellow students were offered:

"Americans, both black and white, are generally friendly, but when it comes to school work, they are terrible. They do not want to share their information."

"They are mature students who relate to foreigners easily but they are narrow-minded, concerned with their own survival and not knowledgeable about world affairs outside U.S.A."

"They are generally indifferent and don't care about other people, especially foreigners."

"They are isolationists and seldom offer help."

A graduate student at a predominantly black university said, "They have negative attitudes toward black foreigners from Africa."

Their views of faculty members, like those of undergraduates, were generally positive. They were described as approachable, helpful,

understanding and responsive. In general, they were regarded as knowledgeable. One student found his faculty "open-minded and unprejudiced" while at a different university a student felt that some faculty members "have preconceived and negative attitudes towards foreign students." A student at a black university characterized faculty members there in this way: "Good role models for black students. However, rather 'stand-offish' and very demanding of their students."

All of the graduate students were master's candidates. Two- thirds of them expect to study for higher degree, Ph.D.'s or professional degrees. In response to the question about their aspirations five years later, most of them indicated that they expect to be employed at that time. They expect to be engaged as industrial researchers, school administrators, corporate junior executives, community development organizers, teachers and educational specialists in 5 years. A few indicated that they want to be close to the completion of the Ph.D. degree by that time. Positions to which some of the women aspire in 20 years are the following: principal of a nursing college, university professor, community organizer, consultant in health services, researcher, and "being part of the government structure of Free South Africa". Men cited executive positions, university level teaching, consulting in small business development, engineering research and raising a family. (There were no references to family and child rearing among the responses of women. Women may assume that they will be engaged in family life; or they may assume that the pursuit of a career will render them less attractive as marital partners. A few women remarked that high educational attainment may reduce the probability of their marrying.)

With previous occupational experiences as domestic servants, salespersons, gardeners, porters, clerks, accountants, factory workers, nursing assistants, and van boys, they had a realistic understanding of the range of employment possibilities. Their fathers had been employed as laborers, teachers, salesmen, and clerks; also listed among father's occupations were a printer, school principal, cinema projectionist, photographer, driver, farmer, agricultural demonstrator and postmaster.

Approximately one-third of the students listed "housewife" as the occupation of their mothers. The other occupations associated with mothers were teacher, nurse, clerk, factory worker, laborer, and store manager. Two-thirds of the students reported that they had been reared in two-parent households. The remainder cited grandmothers or other relatives as responsible for them during childhood. With two exceptions, respondents stated that they grew up with siblings; four was the modal numer of siblings in this group. With respect to religious affiliation, they are predominantly Protestant, Catholic, or Christian. Among them are a Moslem and a Hindu.

Contributing to their satisfactions with the social dimension of their U.S. experiences were their contacts with students from other African nations, cordial relationships with some U.S. students and faculty members, and opportunities for physical exercise. Dissatisfactions were associated with distance between U.S. students and African students, ignorance of international issues on the part of the U.S. students, and the absence of social life and public transportation at one California university site. Among the graduate students, satisfactions markedly outweighed their dissatisfactions. Many indicated that they have little or no time to participate in social events or other entertainments. Approximately half had been assigned host families. They had acccepted invitations to family meals or the accommodations families offered during university holidays. In general, those encounters have been positive.

IMPRESSIONS OF SAEP STUDENTS

College and university administrators' impressions of the preparation and performance of SAEP students were elicited by questionnaires mailed to 22 institutions in which three or more students were enrolled. We sent a two page (5 item) questionnaire with a cover letter, each addressed to the Dean of Students of the institutions; we received replies from 14, four of them large state universities and ten small and medium-sized

independent colleges. For several institutions, the questionnaires were completed by foreign student advisors or academic advisors whose responses indicated considerable acquaintance with the students and their programs. Terse reports from two state universities provided very little information; responses from the other institutions were ample and informative.

ACADEMIC PREPARATION AND PROGRESS

Appraisals of students' academic preparation ranged from "only average" or "adequate" to "excellent." In most instances, students were characterized as having sound academic skills or "good academic discipline." GPAs were cited as evidence of better than adequate preparation and more than satisfactory performance. Indeed, the performance of most SAEP students in the universities queried has been very good or excellent. Performance generally exceeded expectations based on previous academic records and ETS achievement tests. Their successes are attributed to intelligence, discipline, motivation and endurance.

A few of the undergraduates were under-prepared for the curricula of their colleges. One student in a selective liberal arts college was described as inadequately prepared for the sciences and weak in writing and speaking; the respondent added that the student is "innately very bright and confident" and implied that he would overcome his initial disadvantages. The response from a highly selective liberal arts college deserves attention: "Compared to our student body, SAEP students' academic preparation is poor. They lack sufficient background in mathematics; few have had to do any reading for their classes on a daily basis, and they have little experience at writing research papers. The students display a high level of motivation and conscientiousness, however, which greatly accounts for their success. There is no doubt that they are bright young people, but they lack the necessary academic preparation. Passing courses becomes a constant battle with a great human cost."

These observations point to the shortcomings in the quality of primary and secondary educational preparation of the students. They indicate, however, that students develop compensatory strategies that enhance their academic potential.

Our inquiry regarding "academic or personal circumstances that affect students' progress" elicited additional comments about students' high intelligence and motivation as contributing to their performance. "It is also true that we give them a bit of extra TLC when it's needed," wrote a respondent from a large state university. Initial problems associated with adaptation to "U.S. style higher education" and an unfamiliar "grade system" were noted.

"Becoming accustomed to the dialect, style and speed in which the lectures are presented affect students' initial progress. Some of the graduate courses, by nature, were different and called for a good orientation to the United States' educational systems and business structures."

In a few instances, administrators cited the "mismatch" of student and university as a factor that reduced the success level of the student and the institution. For example, students with specific applied educational objectives were disappointed by the offerings of liberal arts curricula.

Social and emotional issues have impaired the performance of a few students. The view from one university is that some students "have not been able to adjust culturally and/or socially. They have indeed carried their cultural baggage with them which is understandable. They have failed to realize this and, therefore, capitalize on 'how different' it really is here." In another account it was stated that race relations in the U.S. hamper the progress of some students. (Unfortunately, specific examples were not cited.) A student in a technical university program was said to have had "serious difficulties" in some courses; in addition, the student suffered emotional problems, eventually terminated the academic program and returned to South Africa. Separation of married couples may impede

the progress of the spouse who is an SAEP student. One observer stated, "I think that married undergraduate students should not be brought to the U.S. without their families. Being alone is detrimental to their growth academically and personally. Our married student was able to bring his family to the U.S. and perhaps not unrelated, his grades and his outlook have improved dramatically." Another administrator stated that a student with his wife and infant in South Africa had performed well academically, but his overall adjustment has been difficult because of the separation. Concern about the well-being of relatives in South Africa was mentioned as a problem for students. The death of a close relative while the student is abroad is not an uncommon experience.

The report from one university included a reference to death in a family:

"One of our students learned of the death of her father during the first few weeks of school. It was difficult and painful to persuade her to continue her studies and not return home at that time. She is now happy she stayed and so is her family. She was able to go home in the summer of 1984, and I applaud the SAEP for establishing a student-supported fund for emergency situations."

Financial constraints limit educational opportunities for SAEP students in some situations. For example, an institution reported that participation in January term projects was closed to SAEP students for financial reasons. That university, we were told, tries to help, but the problems "do not always come to our attention in time."

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

A significant dimension of the quality of U.S. university experience, particularly at the undergraduate level, is related to participation in extracurricular activities. In the opinion of some, SAEP students focused almost exclusively on their academic work and, consequently, failed to realize some of the educational advantages of organizational activities available on U.S. campuses. We inquired about students' participation in organizations, team sports and other extracurricular activities.

In four of the universities surveyed (all in the small-medium sized category), student participation in extracurricular activities is highly visible and considerable. One institution reported that "all of the male students have played on the soccer team" and a woman student played on their varsity tennis team. At another university, all the SAEP students have been members of the International Club in which several have held offices. "Most of the males" at that university have participated in the Soccer Club and have joined clubs in their academic areas. Soccer, assistantships in libraries and the university art gallery, and active participation in the residence program are examples of extracurricular efforts at another university.

Among universities reporting little or no extracurricular participation on the part of SAEP students, there were these observations:

"Our SAEP students are socially well adjusted and have many friends. One of them had joined the soccer team but has recently quit. Students find that they have to work hard on their studies, and they don't seem to either have the time or the need to participate in organized extracurricular activities."

"Students repeatedly tell me that lack of time and academic pressure prevent them from getting more involved in extracurricular activities. Their presence and their day-to-day involvement in the campus community, whether it be with professors, students or advisers, has greatly contributed to enhancing people's awareness of various cultures, of Africa and of apartheid. Last fall we held elections...One student mentioned to me that 'he had never voted before'. This casual conversation was a meaningful experience for me. We, in the West, take so much for granted. Yes, indeed the SAEP students make significant contributions..."

We invited respondents' comments and suggestions; several were offered. From the college that regarded SAEP students' preparation as relatively "poor", the suggestion was that students attend summer school in the U.S. prior to entering degree programs; or that they should be exposed

to a "rigorous preparation system" prior to leaving South Africa. Advice and orientation related to the social character of campus life were recommended as a means of improving students' adaptation to certain university environments. Two respondents urged the placement of students in programs that correspond to their specifications. They cited situations with a poor student-university fit and the frustrations that ensued.

Comments of a more general nature were as follows:

"The students tend to be quite well adjusted to life at_____. We are delighted to have them here."

"We feel that the SAEP is excellent...we feel the program has done a great service of bringing young black South Africans to the States to study. We hope it will continue."

The accounts of interested, supportive administrators were informative. Their observations should be sought periodically.

PART 5. REFLECTIONS OF SAEP ALUMNI/AE

This section is based on interviews with 40 (including two students who withdrew) alumni/ae who returned to South Africa between 1980 and 1984. Among them were 32 men and 8 women. All of the women and 24 of the men were recipients of master's degrees. The other men were in undergraduate programs.

BACKGROUND

Participants in the Program had had diverse educational opportunities within South Africa prior to their matriculation in U.S. universities. They had attended the entire range of black universities and a few white universities and technikons in South Africa; some had studied in both black and white universities. They had enrolled in several different Faculties in the universities. They represented different age cohorts and political periods with respect to "unrest" in South Africa's educational institutions. Despite the diversity in their backgrounds, there was a degree of consensus in their reflections on their previous educational experience: they had studied in highly rigid, authoritarian university environments, in fear-of-failure climates, often under the tutelage of white lecturers whose attitudes they characterized as "racialist".

U.S. UNIVERSITIES: MYTH, VARIETY, REALITY

We were impressed by the variety in the list of U.S. universities the alumni represent. Among them are Ball State, Cornell, Drew, Earlham, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Iowa State, Morgan, New York University, Ohio State, Rutgers, Southern Methodist, Stanford, Toledo, and Washington University. In all, the 40 alumni/ae interviewed had attended 35 universities. Recognizing the diversity among the universities and the individual perceptions of their university experiences, a summary of impressions must include some generalizations. Specific references to institutions are made; however, we have avoided identification of institutions.

As applicants for places in U.S. universities, some of the respondents had had misgivings about the value and quality of U.S. higher education. In their U.K.-oriented system of tertiary education, the pervasive ambivalence about U.S. institutions and cultural influences and a tendency to distrust programs "made in U.S.A." contributed to initial reservations about U.S. study. They applied with considerable uncertainty and

apprehension about the consequences of being accepted.

In retrospect, they realized that their misgivings were unwarranted. They recognized the differences between South African universities and U.S. universities; many expressed their appreciation of the latter in these terms:

"It was not like the threatening education we have here. In our universities, they spend more time threatening you than teaching you. 'If you don't do this, you will fail. Or, Fifty percent of the class will fail.' Student-faculty relations were open. Teachers were very cooperative. It was quite different."

"In American education you are always given a chance...There is an open atmosphere. In South Africa, you are never free to reach your potential."

In a university in America, "you feel you get a fair chance like anyone else."

Several respondents commented on the independence and initiative required in U.S. universities.

"To be a student in the States means you have to go out and discover things on your own."

The options or choices available in large U.S. universities were discussed. Electives, the element of choice, and the opportunity to select courses unrelated to one's major were noteworthy aspects of their U.S. university experience. Viewed in relative terms, one returnee observed:

"I liked the comprehensiveness that you get at a school in the States. You have the option of choosing from many courses. But some South African universities are more demanding."

The pace of instruction was an issue for some. It was necessary to adjust to a semester system or quarter system. The pace at a large state university on the quarter system was recalled as "extremely hectic" and "uncomfortable" by an urban planner who asserted that "one cannot be expected to go deeply enough into a subject" in a quarter. In addition to rapidly paced instruction, the assignments or "work loads" initially were burdensome. Several remarked that their work loads were quite heavy; there was more required reading than they had expected. According to their accounts, however, they readily adjusted to the pace and rhythm of a semester or quarter system. A few stated that the semester system was advantageous. Examinations and evaluations at the end of each semester were said to have contributed to increased comprehension and better performance.

Academic freedom has receded as an issue in U.S. universities; but from a South African perspective, it is a lively concern. Several individuals mentioned having access in the U.S. to literature, research reports, journals, documents, and films to which they would not have had access in South African universities. Access to publications that are banned or simply unavailable in South African universities contributed to a positive image of U.S. universities and their libraries. In a few instances, the alumni/ae were critical of the intellectual conservatism in some academic departments "where few were interested in or informed about Marxism."

The international dimension of U.S. institutions was cited as important to many who had had little or no opportunity to meet in an academic context peers from other nations, particularly other African nations. The isolation of South Africa from the rest of the continent and other parts of the world limits contact with foreigners in one's field and restricts the opportunity to gain an international view of developments in one's field. For the first time, they had had the chance to exchange information and ideas with colleagues from other countries. "One gains a global perspective, becomes aware of social, political, and economic issues in relative terms", said a respondent.

Going to the "source" of theory and research was significant for some who remarked that most of the textbooks used in South African universities are by U.S. authors or authors affiliated with U.S. universities. They felt enriched and empowered by the opportunity to have become acquainted with authors of important texts and reference works.

Several alumni/ae commented on the remarkable range and quality of facilities available at their U.S. universities. Laboratories, libraries, and athletic facilities were mentioned. To be sure, a few institutions were distinguished by limited laboratories or inadequate athletic accommodations. In general, however, the variety and high quality of facilities contributed to the appeal of many universities. That they did not have to take notice of signs that restrict access because of race was cited as a relief.

U.S. UNIVERSITY CLIMATES AND PEER RELATIONS

Reports on interactions with U.S. students were mixed: some were competitive, superficial, and unfriendly, and some were generous, supportive, hospitable and very friendly. Individuality and diversity among the alumni/ae and the students they met made stereotyping impossible. Those who were housed in undergraduate dormitories sometimes felt their neighbors were inconsiderate, frivolous, and unnecessarily noisy. Living off-campus in apartments without companions contributed to feelings of loneliness and isolation. "Living alone was an experience!", an alumnus exclaimed. "I had never before had a bed of my own, much less a room of my own," revealed an alumna.

Those who had been students at predominantly white universities commented on the racial dimension of their experience. "I spent the first year getting adjusted to people. I had not attended school with whites before. I was not sure whether I liked it or not. I got used to them. The second year was better." In a few instances, racial isolation was a problem. A respondent noted that "black American students were isolated" at her

mid-Western university. "As African students we were doubly isolated", she added. An alumnus of an urban mid-Western university observed that African students "got on better with white students than they did with (U.S.) black students." At an Eastern university, an alumnus discovered "some affinities between black South Africans and black Americans." He found it difficult to relate to black U.S. undergraduates, however. He added, "I had very little in common with younger black Americans. They were very myopic. West Indians were much warmer, more open to us. Americans were more into themselves." An alumna suggested that there was social distance between African students and black U.S. students because the latter did not wish to be reminded of their Africanness. She spent most of her leisure time in the company of other African students.

Another alumna reported that "being South African, I found rubbing shoulders with whites difficult. I had difficulties relating to whites at first. I could not be open, could not get away from my South African situation." In her university in Manhattan she encountered "American blacks who identified with Africans. Genuine American blacks still had deep-seated resentments toward whites." Eventually she developed friendships with white students. She said, "Most welcomed me and tried all they could to make me feel at home, especially in the dorm. In the classroom, people felt that you, as a black South African, are so deprived that you cannot compete in the American university."

Generally speaking, alumini/ae felt that they had competed quite successfully with their fellow U.S. students in their respective institutions. Most felt adequately prepared for their programs. Proud of their performances, many of them cited their GPAs as evidence of their success. Many acknowledged initial academic adjustment problems that they subsequently overcame. One offered this observation: "Most students lack the necessary confidence during the first year abroad because Americans are competitive verbally." Another said, "One has a language problem. American students read much faster than I. It was worse at the beginning." Discipline, exceptionally high motivation, and determination

contributed to their overcoming their initial handicaps. In retrospect, a few reported their disappointment in the performance of U.S. students who were not prepared to write lengthy papers or conduct independent research. Overall, they made the most of the advantages of their previous training and readily compensated for the disadvantages.

The informality of the lecture hall or seminar room delighted some and offended others. That students ate in classes, read newspapers, or fell asleep was offensive and disrespectful in the opinion of some; that a professor would sit on his or her desk was regarded as inappropriate and undignified.

Men reported a higher level of social acceptance and success than women. The former were more likely to have participated in athletic activities, campus organizations and other extracurricular events. Men had had a higher level of physical mobility since they rarely had to be concerned about safety or security . Women did not seem to fare as well socially. They reported feeling isolated, rejected and lonely. They concentrated on their academic work and, where possible, accelerated their programs to hasten the return to South Africa.

FACULTY-STUDENT RELATIONS

Although some specific behaviors on the part of faculty members were regarded as excessively informal, the esprit of informality in U.S. faculty-student relations was generally appealing. Often cited as an advantage of the U.S. university experience (in comparison to South African universities) was the availability of professors. One respondent exclaimed, "You are even free to phone them at home!" They commented on professors having office hours, expecting students to contact them if they needed assistance, and being friendly. In graduate schools, the status differential between faculty members and students often seemed negligible. "When you see a lecturer and a student in the States, you cannot tell which is which," mused an alumnus. Another said that among his fondest memories were "the discussions that I had with professors

without stopping to think that they were professors." The social proximity of faculty and students was said to facilitate their educational and professional development. Some remarked with pleasure and surprise that their relationships with faculty members became friendships that they have maintained.

It was important to ask alumni/ae who are lecturers whether their U.S. experience had influenced the quality of their relationships with students at their respective universities. Responses varied. Some had attempted initially to conduct informal exchanges with their students but had reverted to more formal and traditional styles of interacting with students. They said that formal relations were more comfortable and customary for their students. Perhaps the lecturers, too, were more comfortable and less conspicuous when they adhered to the traditional forms of exchange. More frequently, however, lecturers acknowledged the "Americanization" of their personal styles as lecturers and their approaches to teaching. They encourage class participation, are visible and accessible, and conduct informal dis- cussions with students. According to the accounts of students at two black universities, the SAEP alumni in some departments have had a profound influence on the character of instruction, an influence they regard as beneficial.

An alumnus who is a lecturer in a white university described the change in his approach to teaching in this way:

"Education should change the meaning of experience. I would like to see that transformation take place. I was given a ticket to provide that transformation...I use an informal approach. Students call me by my first name. Questions must be encouraged. Whites in my classes freely ask questions. In the black educational system, students are not encouraged to ask questions. By June (mid-year) there are as many black students as whites asking questions. In America I learned that the teacher should not take away from students the responsibility of being a student. It is not a one-way monologue as you have in this country. I realized that there is respect in a two-way exchange. I regard my students as friends and they

regard me as a friend."

IMPRESSIONS OF U.S. CULTURE

Intelligent observers of cultural differences, the alumni/ae commented on several aspects of U.S. culture. "Americanized English", foods, casual relations between people, uses of leisure time, approaches to studies, feminist attitudes, child rearing practices, character of cities, transportation, work ethics, nationalistic myopia and race relations claimed the attention of alumni/ae. While most of their reactions were interesting and informative, only their impressions of phenomena that were related to their educational experiences and adjustment will be reported here. Some came with preconceptions about U.S. society that had been shaped by the media. Orientation programs in South Africa and in the U.S. were a source of information. University environments, visits to other cities and towns, contacts with religious groups, and acquaintance with host families contributed to their impressions of U.S. culture.

For most alumni/ae, race relations and race-related episodes were salient aspects of their experiences. On U.S. campuses and in the cities and towns that surrounded them they witnessed or experienced race-related episodes that contributed to their understanding of U.S. society and their interpretations of apartheid. One man said, "You get a false picture of America from Ebony (magazine). It doesn't show you the slums. It did not prepare me for Newark." Another observed, "U.S. racism is subtle; it is not as bad as it is in South Africa." The account of a man who studied at a Texas university conveyed a notion of how his attitudes and perceptions shifted.

"When I left South Africa, my relations with whites were terrible. I did not like white people. I had a white host family. In time, I started developing relations on a personal basis rather than on a racial basis. Living in South Africa tends to be racial. In Texas the whole idea of black versus white degenerated."

A different observation drawn from a sojourn in Texas was as follows: "I left with pity for black Americans. Look at American jails, military, service workers...they are disproportionately black. Black students did not do well. Blacks were beaten in cafes. Being black in the States does not give one security and comfort. The way black people are thought of is pitiful. I would not want to be black in the States."

The observations and experiences of some others were positive with respect to race. For example, an alumnus said that he found himself "behaving normally in a racially normal society" while in the U.S. Another said that he sometimes forgot that he was black at his mid-Western university.

Preconceptions, regional experiences in the U.S., exposure to the U.S. media, and personal encounters had different influences on different individuals. In different ways their formulations about racism were expanded by their U.S. observations.

Expressions of feminism in the U.S. drew comments. A man said, "Our culture promotes the subservience of women. Women depend on us. I came to appreciate women as human beings there." A woman said, "I learned a lot from American women. I admired the black sisters. I liked their outgoing personalities, their spirit of 'I can do it'. I took some spirit from them."

Nearly every interviewee said she or he had met many people in the U.S. who knew little or nothing of South Africa. An alumnus said, "I was annoyed that people did not know South Africa." To be sure, each had met individuals who were very much aware of South Africa. Recounting her discussions about South Africa in the U.S., an alumna concluded, "Americans are either very ignorant or very well informed. It is a country of extremes." Another observed, "Some Americans know little about the outside world. They are very proud of their country. They are centered entirely on the U.S." Several were surprised to find university students

poorly informed about world geography, international affairs, and Third World issues. Appalled by the "ignorance of educated Americans", a few undertook the informal education of fellow students by introducing them to the geopolitics of South Africa. Those who were aware of South Africa and its sociopolitical character often responded with profound interest and excessive pity. Alumni were invited to participate in university and community programs on Africa or the Third World. In preparation for programs or informal talks, many learned more about South Africa in the U.S. than they had known previously. Some gained information about South Africa abroad that they could have not acquired in South Africa.

They had derived a considerable amount of information about U.S. values and life styles not acquired in South Africa because of censorship of publications and films. On balance, they returned with positive impressions of "American ways of life". For a few, the options and opportunities in the U.S. were very appealing. A man who had studied in Indiana said, "I felt that it would be great to be an American. It would be great to stay there. When I returned, I wondered, 'My God, why did I come back?'"

Asked if they would want their offspring or younger siblings to study in the U.S., their responses were uniformly positive. They cited the benefits of living abroad and developing a comparative view of their own society.

ON BEING SOUTH AFRICAN: NATIONAL IDENTITY

The experience of being abroad and meeting people from other countries, particularly other African countries, defined more sharply and reinforced for most alumni their national identity. They came to recognize and value more their Africanness. Living in the U.S. accentuated the distinctive aspects of the meaning of their South African homes and communities, families and institutions, sorrows and celebrations. Their identification with South Africa was heightened by what they learned

about themselves in the context of a foreign country. Some simply said, "I grew more South African." Others explained more fully how the sense of national identity was refined while abroad:

"I learned to be proud to be South African and African. You learn to appreciate what you are. You become proud of it. Your culture becomes important."

"I never lost my national identity, never lost the sense of being myself as a South African. I can't talk about being South African in the way a Nigerian talks about Nigeria. He feels he belongs. I relate to the country in negative terms...in terms of protest. Deep inside, however, I feel South African."

"I learned that I like my country more than any other country in the world. I learned to like black people more. I learned to like myself more."

"I came back with a strong sense of being South African and would always want to be South African. This place is part of me...the place where I can create a meaningful existence, much more meaningful than anywhere else. I was longing to be back here, to be part of the struggle."

"When South Africans met in the States, the feeling of being South African was heightened and we were proud of being South African...but not under this government."

For a few, the negative aspect of national identity was felt more keenly while they were in the U.S. Examples of such sentiments are as follows:

"I didn't have any reason to feel proud to be a South African. You feel more angry toward South African whites when you are in America."

"I hated being South African."

"I wanted to distance myself from South Africa."

"We are never socialized with a strong African identity. I found it

necessary to have an Azanian identity."

PERSONAL IDENTITY: PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGE

Alumni/ae were asked whether they felt they had changed during their years in the U.S. Self-perceptions of change, in the absence of others' views of their having changed, raised questions about validity and distortions. In a few instances, when spouses, colleagues or students were available, there were opportunities to validate the self-perceptions of alumni/ae. In each case, the perceptions of others corroborated the self-reports. In the context of discussing personal identity and personal changes, there were references to racial identity. In societies where racism is salient, personal identity is inextricably linked to racial identity. Some of the quotations make the linkage explicit.

The most frequent theme in self-descriptions of change was the enhancement of self-confidence. A few examples should illustrate the self-assessments of many:

"A person who comes from the U.S. has more self-confidence. Americans ooze self-confidence! You try to imitate the American style. American self-confidence was rewarded. I speak with confidence and conviction now."

"You meet different people from different cultures. It makes you feel more confident. I am much more confident in the classroom now."

"I was impressed by the confidence of American people. I feel I am much more confident. Prior to my departure, I was rather shy. I had had a communication block when it came to talking to white people. I found whites were no different. I found it was as easy to talk to them as it was to blacks."

Increased self-confidence and self-esteem were associated with the rejection of feelings of racial inferiority. Some respondents spoke of changes in racial terms:

"I am supposed to know there is no difference between a white person and a black person. I realize they are also human and I am. Here I am conditioned to feel we are inferior, although your intellect tells you differently...I learned I was equal to any other person in terms of color. I lost the sense of feeling inferior in the company of whites."

Others described the personal influence of their U.S. experiences in more general terms:

"When I returned, I sensed there was something wrong with the constraints on our behavior. I had become more open. Now I try to be more open and I encourage it in others."

An alumna said, "My parents felt I was more liberal and easy-going when I returned. I was less conservative."

An alumnus, accompanied by his wife and child, returned to find that "people were listening for an American accent. I heard people say that we had not changed...close friends and I know that I have changed. I am a different person. I see people differently. I gained greater respect for people. I put greater value on people and their concerns than on material things."

Changes reported by some individuals had affected their relationships with friends and colleagues. A few stated that they felt estranged from old friends initially. More frequently, friends recognized and reinforced changes in attitudes and self-image. The reactions of colleagues were influenced by the climate of the workplace; in general, change in individual styles and attitudes was more readily accepted in academic institutions than in corporate settings.

TO REMAIN OR TO RETURN?

We asked alumni/ae whether they had considered remaining in the U.S. upon completion (or termination) of their degree programs. A few of the returnees stated that they had hoped to find support for doctoral studies in the U.S.; failing to do so, they had returned to South Africa. For reasons related to individual freedom, a few others - a marginal few - said that they wished they could have stayed in the U.S. A young man recalled, "I was very sad to be coming back. Something in the pit of my stomach was rejecting it...but my parents are here, other relatives are here...I have vowed I will get back to the U.S. If my parents weren't here, I would not have come back. I have a deep desire to escape, a wrong desire. I have a deep desire to get out of the clutches of the system."

Another alumnus reported, "I didn't want to leave. I felt bitter. But I had committed myself to returning. After two years, I was getting used to the American way of life. I would have gotten a better job. I would have become what I wanted to become."

A man, whose wife and children had accompanied him, said, "There was a moment when I thought of not returning. If I had had a choice, I would have stayed. I had to return. It was a condition of the scholarship; and I had family obligations. My mother was still alive."

Those few alumni/ae represented the opinion of a minority. The majority of those interviewed had positive reasons for returning. One student, "recalled" prematurely (i.e., before completing his degree requirements) by the "voices" of his ancestors, returned because he had been summoned. No less compelling were the summons associated with commitment: commitment to parents, grandparents, brothers and sisters. They were summoned by a sense of obligation to family and community; by memories of the places they call home - Soweto, Umlazi, Benoni. They had returned "to keep faith" with brothers and sisters committed to "the struggle", and to honor their pledges to EOC and IIE.

For some, the level of freedom and personal security they experienced in multiracial groups in and around their universities increased their desire to change the character of race relations in South Africa. In their studies of the U.S. civil rights movement they found circumstances that parallelled their own. Recognition of recent improvements in black-white relations in the U.S. was a source of inspiration. Their hope renewed, they returned with the expectation of participating in the transformation of South Africa and the building of a new South Africa. Some were repelled by what they had experienced or witnessed in the U.S. with respect to racism. An alumnus said, "I tell people about the States. I have pictures of Watts and Harlem to show them." Racial inequities in the U.S. made some realize that they would rather resist South Africa's racist apartheid than counter a less overt racism in the U.S.

An alumnus said, "South Africa is a terrible country and Jo'burg is terrible. You have to psych yourself for returning. You have to tell yourself, 'I grew up there and I have to go back there.' It is a conscious experience...You realize that America is not as free as you had expected. What brings you back is hope. Hope that in the next 20 years there will be some dramatic changes; and the hope that someday you will belong. I would never feel that I belonged in America. I felt a bit insecure about the white majority there. I was conscious of being black and foreign." Prepared to cope with the complexity of his ambivalence, he returned to his country and his corporate post.

An alumna who had felt isolated in a mid-Western university said, "I was too happy to leave. It felt good to land on South African soil. I was very happy to be home." Another, who had married a few weeks before leaving for the U.S., recalled, "I was not tempted to stay in the States. I was anxious to get back to my husband. When I returned, I wished that I had not come back. You long for home and then you arrive and see the realities. You say, 'This is not the right experience for me.' Now you question. You can compare. It is infuriating." That the overall U.S. experience seems to be less satisfactory for women than for men may account, in part, for differences in expressions about leaving.

An alumnus said, "I really felt like a human being in America. I was at peace with myself. I felt if I could be there forever, I would. I had started enjoying friends of all nationalities, all races. I thought, 'Now I am going back.' The commitments to family and to IIE make you want to return. My mother is a widow and I am the eldest son. I returned to hell after a sojourn in heaven."

Inquiries about culture shock elicited descriptions of the shock of returning to South Africa. For a few, the initial impact of the informality and freedom of choice with respect to life styles in the U.S. had produced a sense of culture shock when they arrived. There were more frequent statements about the culture shock experienced upon returning to South Africa, however. The reverse culture shock, or shock of re-entry, was associated with recognition of the abnormality of apartheid and associated with recognition of the abnormality of apartheid and readjustment to it. An alumna said, "When you enter Jan Smuts Airport your arrival shatters your good experience abroad. It is the way they speak to you, treat you. The first week was depressing. Friends noticed I was more outspoken, more critical." Another woman remembered, "It was shocking to find attendants at Jan Smuts so rude and uncaring. They skipped over me to check in white passengers. I missed the plane to Durban because of their attitude." An alumnus recalled, "I was depressed for months. I found it hard to readjust. You forget about looking for signs that tell you where you may or may not go." The recognition of personal change contributes to a sense of shock. As one alumnus observed, "It was a shock to me to find I had constructed a value system that is not consistent with the value system here. I am still coming to terms with it. For example, I am driving a small car. Materialism as a symbol is something I am fighting." Another said, "I did not want to believe I had changed. But my body, my everything did not like what I was seeing. This country could be normal. Walking down the street you can see that the country is not normal, is not free. The relations among people are distorted." Deprivation of access to amenities and facilities available in the U.S. was felt with irritation. An alumnus who had returned to Soweto said, "It was horrible. In Orlando

East there are no recreation facilities. After 7 in the evening, you are locked in your house. It is not safe to go out. And where is there to go when you go out? There is nowhere to go. And there is no transportation." Several alumni spoke of returning to communities with "limited facilities" and lamented their being unable to pursue athletic and cultural interests that they had developed in the U.S.

Most of the respondents reported that they spent a week or more renewing relationships with relatives and friends upon returning to South Africa. Those who were returning to positions contacted their employers immediately. Those seeking positions initiated inquiries immediately.

EMPLOYMENT AND REEMPLOYMENT

Bear in mind that the alumni returned to a depressed economic climate; corporate opportunities were on the decline. Eleven of the 40 alumni interviewed were in corporate posts; of that number, only three were employed by U.S. corporations. The others were with South African firms. In general, they were trained for entry-level jobs. Entry or re-entry into the competitive culture of the corporations was associated with frustrations for some. In the opinion of corporate personnel experts, their experiences were commonplace; they might have encountered similar problems during an economic depression in the U.S. corporate job market or in any other country. The racial aspect of their experiences was salient for them, however, because they were in South Africa.

Approximately half of the respondents returned to universities, corporations, or social service agencies where they had been employed previously. For the other half, the search for a post was necessary. Several alumni/ae, with interests in corporate occupations, had initiated contacts with personnel officers of multinational corporations in the U.S. They had returned with the expectation of being well received and readily placed in corporate posts. An alumnus with a master's degree in applied mathematics said, "I came back with great expectations. When I returned, I started looking for a job. That is when my expectations were deflated.

The impression I got from the mother companies gave me high expectations. I thought I had three job offers. When I came here it was different. The attitude they expressed here was discouraging. You get a rude shock when you return. You have your hopes dashed." He abandoned his hopes for corporate employment and settled for a teaching appointment in a recently established university in a black township.

Eighteen of the 40 (including two returnees who withdrew from degree programs) alumni/ae were engaged in secondary or university education as teachers or administrators. The remainder were distributed as follows: law firms (5); social services (4); corporations (11). An alumna with a masters in anthropology had not found employment when she was interviewed; her inquiries about teaching and research positions had been ignored. She was the only returnee who was unemployed. An alumnus was enrolled as a student in a corporation sponsored management program.

Alumni/ae who had returned to situations where they had worked previously cited the advantages and disadvantages of familiarity with their organizations. To be sure, the security of returning to a post was an advantage. Several alumni/ae who returned to teaching posts they had held prior to their U.S. studies were quite favorably received. Colleagues were curious about what they had gained abroad. An alumnus who had studied at the University of Indiana said, "Some have false impressions. They think American certificates are not worth the paper they are written on...They only respect Harvard and Princeton. But when you tell them about the work you have done and what you have read, then they are impressed." Another lecturer reported that his colleagues found him a "changed person" when he returned to his department. "I delivered sermons when I came back. My friends in the department appreciated what I had learned." His colleagues and students reported that he had revolutionized the department by reorganizing his courses, preparing comprehensive course outlines and syllabi, requiring several diverse readings rather than a single text, instituting "American teaching methods", and creating a resource center for the department. His students' comments on his teaching were highly favorable:

"We do more work for his classes and we learn more."

"The focus is more on the student. It is informal. It is like a seminar."

"You can agree or disagree with him...and each other."

"His approach to teaching should be adopted throughout the university."

While the reward and recognition for study aborad were more evident for this lecturer than for others, each alumna/us had his or her version of academic colleagues' expressions of interest in new information or developments from U.S. universities.

The accounts of those who returned to corporate posts differed markedly from those in education. (Three were employed by U.S. corporations; the rest worked for South African companies.) Most had returned to former employers and had resumed positions they had held prior to going abroad. Most white colleagues expressed little or no interest in the knowledge and experience they had gained abroad, according to respondents. Impressed favorably by their U.S. experience, black subordinates looked up to them as being better equipped with respect to representing the interests of blacks in their respective corporations. The lack of recognition and frustration they experienced in the company of white co-workers was demoralizing; the esteem blacks accorded them hardly reduced their demoralization.

An alumnus with an MBA said, "It was a tug-of-war with respect to status. First they wanted to call me a 'trainee'. After 6 months my status changed. And by now I have some company perks...I can't deny that going to the U.S. gave me an edge, but it is not significant after a point. You have to show results. The lustre of having been abroad fades." A young lawyer employed by a U.S. corporation as a regional public affairs officer was admitted to an MBA program in a U.S. university. When he returned to the firm, he was appointed national public affairs officer. He stated that the appointment was reported extensively as a significant change, a breakthrough. He had held the position for a year when he was offered an

assignment abroad. The company suffered a financial setback; the assignment abroad was cancelled. He had vacated his post, now occupied by a white colleague. He now serves as public relations officer for a metropolitan area. His demotion has left him disillusioned. He felt his prospects were limited with that company. He said that he was making inquiries elsewhere and that he "may become self-employed". He added, "Blacks in the corporate world find that they are on their own trying to break down the system. Education, they find, is not the key to the business world...Companies may state there should be equal opportunities, but they don't know how to bring it about."

A specialist in food sciences returned to his post in a South African corporation where he found his training abroad underutilized. He was trained as a brewer. When he returned to the company, he was "kept away from the fermentation department" which limited his opportunities to demonstrate the training he had acquired. He felt that his U.S. education was "disturbing to them". After four frustrating years with the company, he decided to explore employment possibilities in education. At the time he was interviewed, he had just announced his intention to resign from the brewery. He had accepted a post in a university - affiliated science education program and a reduction in salary. Belatedly, the brewery made a competitive offer. "They are trying to apply some pressure," he said, "but it is a bit late. They could have made me feel a part of the brewery."

Entry into corporations upon returning to South Africa proved difficult for some and impossible for others who had not had previous corporate experience. The well-documented "job hunting" experience of one alumnus as reported by Buti Tlhagale (Appendix) suggests the complications and frustrations associated with the search for a position. Residential restrictions imposed by the Group Areas Act complicate the problem of finding accommodations within commuting distance of the workplace. In the case documented by Tlhagale, constraints associated with their being a dual-career family were relevant.

An alumna with a master's degree in industrial psychology applied for positions in corporate personnel departments. She felt that "race and sex discrimination" in the field of personnel management prevented her entry into a corporation. She said that she "would not like to go into industry with things as they are now." Instead, she is a lecturer in psychology at a black university. She said that she would not discourage others with an interest in personnel work; indeed, she anticipates changes in the policies of personnel departments during the next 5 years. She expects that she will continue to teach, however. The discouragement connected to her initial inquiries has lingered.

Another alumna, prior to her M.B.A. studies, had worked as a marketing manager for a bank. When she returned, she accepted a post with a major South African corporation as an accounts executive. In that capacity, she encountered problems on the "clients' side" and was transferred to another department. She suspected that there had been "pressure" from white clients who resented blacks with access to information about their accounts. Now employed as chief accountant in a Soweto clinic, she has vowed that never again will she work for a white company.

Entry and reentry in social service occupations seemed less problematic, relatively speaking. An alumnus who returned to the South African government's Department of Health and Social Welfare with an M.S.W. knew that his position as senior social worker had been reserved for him. He had a positive experience 6 months after his return: he was promoted to chief social worker, a post that entailed administrative responsibilities and a salary increase. How is he regarded? "Being from the U.S., they feel you are different...You are more of a threat to your superiors. They think you are more proud, a prouder 'Bantu'." He had expected the promotion. He did not expect to make a difference in the system, however. "If you are working for the government, you cannot introduce many changes. You can only go so far."

An alumnus who had been a supervisor in a child welfare agency

prior to his work for an M.S.W. applied for positions for 2 months before finding a temporary situation as a case worker, a post he held for 4 months before a more suitable position was offered. Now employed as deputy director of a regional mental health society where he is in charge of professional services, he reported that he is "really satisfied" with his work now and that he has a "new lease" on his career.

Alumni/ae with law (L.L.M.) degrees from U.S. institutions returned to search for articled clerkships with firms, with the exception of a lawyer in an established academic career as a professor of law in a "homeland" university. An alumnus said, "I was told that blacks and white women don't have a chance at articled clerkships...I wrote 16 applications to white firms. I got 6 replies - 4 regrets and 2 that would consider me. After one interview, I was asked to write an aptitude test!" He finally was offered a clerkship with a black firm about which he has some reservations. The principals, in his opinion, "regard the clerkship as bondage;" furthermore, they "are threatened by someone with a higher degree from abroad."

After a protracted search for a clerkship, a woman lawyer was made an articled clerk in a white firm that had had three black clerks previously. She attributed her being placed in a law firm to the intervention of SAEP director, David Smock, and Helen Suzman. In the second and last year of her clerkship, she expected to leave the firm for an uncertain future. Her training at the firm had been uneven; in one department she was not given "the right kind of work" while the work assigned in another department afforded her useful experience. She described interactions with colleagues in this way: "The general attitude is not bad. You get along with everyone without feeling you are different. You get the kind of respect given to anyone in your position...A small percentage may make you feel you don't belong, but generally people are warm, not too paternalistic, forthright, and nice." An alumnus in a white law firm, where he is the second black articled clerk in the firm's history, feels he has learned good office administration practices. The firm, he said, "compares with American firms for professionalism. It has made me more professional." He added, "[But] they don't give you the best work." Each of the lawyers commented on the

meager compensation for clerkships; salaries ranged from R500-R680 per month.

Perhaps the most useful indicator of the effectiveness of U.S. training is the occupational category and level that an alumna/us attains upon returning to South Africa. A review of the positions held by those interviewed indicates that, in general, they are in positions that are commensurate with their degrees and/or training. (If age and experience were in the equation, it is likely that we would conclude that some have not been rewarded appropriately for their years of employment.) It should be noted that many of the alumni are in entry-level posts. A study of their occupational records and mobility a decade later should be planned in order to assess the nature of the processes and circumstances that facilitate or hinder career development.

To the extent that occupational titles reflect differences in levels of responsibility and complexity of occupational tasks, a comparison of the titles of positions held prior to their U.S. studies and those attained upon returning to South Africa suggests the advantages of further training. The occupational titles are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3.

OCCUPATIONAL TITLES PRE- AND POST-STUDY ABROAD

	PRE-STUDY ABROAD	POST-STUDY ABROAD
M	Bank Clerk	Executive Banking Trainee in Economics
F	Legal Counselor	Articled Clerk
M	Articled Clerk	Articled Clerk
M*	Student	Plant Controller & Apprentice Sangoma(Healer)
M	Priest	Priest & part-time Teacher
M	Vice Principal	Geography Teacher & Asst. Head (Secondary School)
M	Senior Social Worker	Chief Social Worker
M	Financial Analyst	Treasury Analyst
M	Systems Engineer	University Lecturer
M	Student	Articled Clerk
F	Executive Banking Trainee	Chief Accountant
F	Student	Unemployed

M	Technical Trainee in Brewing	Brewery Superintendent
M	Student & Laboratory Technician	Chemical Engineer
M*	Student & Accounts Processor	Bank Clerk
M	Laboratory Technician	Computer Software Design Trainee
M	Student	Articled Clerk
M	University Junior Lecturer	University Lecturer
M	School Principal	Subject Inspector (Geography)
M	Lecturer	Senior Lecturer
M	Professor	Professor
M	Department Chairman	Vice Principal (University)
F	Literacy Specialist	Cultural Planner & Writer
F	Student	University Lecturer
M	Regional Public Relations Officer	Metropolitan Public Relations Officer
M	Lecturer	Lecturer
M	Librarian	Senior Librarian

M	Department Head (Black University)	Deputy Director of Academic Support Program and Lecturer (White University)
F	Senior Technical Assistant	Junior Lecturer
M	Welfare Agency Supervisor	Deputy Director of Regional Mental Health Society
F	Lecturer	Lecturer
M	Lecturer	Senior Lecturer
M	Design Technician	Engineer-in-Training
F	Economic Officer	Lecturer
M	Lecturer	Lecturer
M	Senior Lecturer	Senior Lecturer
M	Student	Articled Clerk
M	Student	Student
M	Lecturer	Senior Lecturer
M	Technician	Engineer in Training

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*Indicates student did not complete the degree program

M = Male

F = Female

REACTIONS OF FAMILIES

A majority of the alumni reported that they had embarked on their study abroad programs with the support and encouragement of relatives. Very few recalled reservations on the part of parents or other relatives. An alumnus, who described his family as "very orthodox", said, "My mother is very protective. She did not see the need of my going abroad. My father is more adaptable." Most, however, stated that their parents, spouses, children, and other relatives had been pleased about their being selected for study in U.S. universities.

For single students and the widow in our sample, separation from relatives during the period abroad had minor consequences for relationships and responsibilities. For those who were married, i.e. approximately half the group, complex considerations surrounded the plan to study abroad. Five of them were fortunate enough to be joined by their spouses (wives) and children. (Three others said that their wives and children visited them in the U.S.) Wives took courses, assisted spouses with their studies, worked, and participated in community activities. An alumnus said, "My wife was involved in three different interest groups...We had good relations with neighbors. We had a lot of contact with faculty. We had a fuller life abroad than here even with extended family." The children of alumni reportedly adapted readily to their U.S. settings and benefitted socially as much as scholastically in the schools they attended.

For families separated during the period of study, there were psychological hardships; a few reported financial problems as well. An alumnus with two children was concerned when he learned that in the vicinity of Jan Smuts Airport his younger child had said, "This is where Daddy disappeared." A man with a wife and four children said that, while in the U.S., he had felt lonely and felt guilty about leaving his family behind. Another man whose pregnant wife and infant son had remained in South Africa said, "We had one child when I left but two when I returned. My wife missed me too much...She could not sleep. She wept a lot. There is a big telephone account still to be settled." Another said, "My family missed me. My wife was working, but when her job was terminated there were financial problems. She had to run the family and manage the finances. It was heavy for her but she tried her best." An alumnus, strongly opposed to the separation of families said that the situation is analogous to the separation of families in South Africa where male workers are expected to live in single-sex accommodations or hostels for eleven months each year.

Did the presence or absence of families influence academic performance? Differences in aptitude, motivation, institutional climates, and program requirements were probably more powerful factors that personal circumstances related to the presence or absence of spouses and children. A controlled study of the relationship between academic performance of married foreign students and the presence or absence of relatives would provide needed empirical information about this question.

Despite the occurence of major family events - weddings, illness and deaths - that transpired while they were in the U.S., most alumni reported that the interruptions related to domestic concerns had only minor consequences. The support and encouragement of the SAEP staff and their university colleagues and friends sustained them during difficult times.

PART 6. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A review of the observations, reflections and records of students and alumni/ae who have participated in SAEP provided abundant support for the proposition that education in U.S. universities enhances the psychological well-being, leadership potential and career opportunities of participants. With academic histories that have been handicapped by the educational philosophy of apartheid, black South African students in U.S. universities compensated rapidly for the academic disruptions and deficiencies they had experienced. They responded effectively and successfully to the challenges of a foreign system of higher education. Alumni/ae accumulated highly satisfactory academic records; in several instances, they made notable contributions to the quality of student life in their colleges and universities.

The psychological benefits alumni/ae attributed to their U.S. experiences were among the major advantages of the sojourn abroad. Each had realized an increase in self-confidence, self-worth, and confidence in his or her intellectual competence. They evaluated their abilities in racial terms and noted that they had competed successfully with whites in U.S. universities. They returned with a sense of expecting egalitarian relationships in the workplace and a climate of equal opportunity in educational institutions.

Somewhat older than their fellow U.S. students, the South Africans had the advantages and disadvantages of maturity and experience. They had been trained in a complex sociopolitical system that had heightened levels of

motivation and responsibility. They had brought to the U.S. their private ambitions, the aspirations of kin and community, and an indomitable drive to succeed. Several had experienced academic disappointments (e.g., being denied ministerial consent to enter a degree program in a white university in South Africa) and the discouragement inherent in an educational system that devalues the intellectual abilities of blacks. Themes in their narratives about university experiences in South Africa pertained to (1) authoritarian climates in black and white ("open") South African universities; (2) racial tension; (3) boycotts and other episodes that disrupted the operation of their institutions; and (4) fear of failure.

Despite their largely unfavorable associations with universities in South Africa, they came with the expectation of academic and social success in U.S. universities. They had heard that faculty members would be helpful; that class participation would benefit them; and that they would be judged in terms of their abilities in U.S. institutions rather than on the basis of race. They entered the U.S. with the expectation of being treated fairly and with the anticipation of academic success. The outcome for most of the students was successful; their conscientious efforts and determination were rewarded with good grades. The few who withdrew before completing their programs had emotional, cultural or domestic reasons for returning; only one student failed.

RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA

One criterion for evaluating the success of the Program is whether students return to South Africa upon completion of their degrees. In general, students

do return when their educational missions have been accomplished. A few students have elected to remain in the U.S. to pursue advanced degrees. They plan to return to South Africa when their studies are completed. "Why do they return to South Africa?", ask individuals who are acquainted with apartheid. They return for a variety of reasons: commitments to relatives and friends; dedication to the struggle of changing the sociopolitical structure of South Africa; the pledge that they would return; and the recognition for some that they are quintessentially South African. For a few students, confrontations with U.S. racism reinforced the decision to return and hastened the departure.

When they returned to South Africa, most alumni/ae found positions that were commensurate with their training and compatible with their career objectives. For some, the job search was protracted (complicated by "group areas" regulations), demoralizing and frustrating. They persevered. The intervention of an SAEP staff member or a corporate connection was influential sometimes; a few alumni/ae attributed their being offered positions to such intervention.

In general, alumni/ae indicated satisfaction with their positions, but were uncertain about prospects for advancement. Indeed, in a few cases prospect of recognition and advancement was so bleak that alumni/ae were seeking more rewarding employment opportunities. Alumni/ae in academic posts appeared to have received recognition for their studies abroad, whereas those in business and industry felt that their training and degrees were virtually ignored. It will be important to follow the development of the careers of the

alumni/ae. Many of them are in entry level positions at this stage; it will be necessary to determine whether they are promoted and compensated at the same rate as their white counterparts. Explanations for changes in their career paths should be elicited. SAEP should attempt to assess the influence of their U.S. training on their employment options and career orientation.

At the time of the interviews, an alumna with a master's in anthropology was unemployed. She returned to the U.S. in Fall 1985 to pursue a Ph.D. An alumnus had entered a full-time post-graduate training program and again was a student. A few alumni/ae were continuing their education through part-time studies in South African universities. And a few stated that they would like to return to the U.S. for another degree. The educational plans and future training of alumni/ae should be tracked also.

Sociological observers have predicted that alumni/ae are likely to retreat from community obligations and embrace middle class status and the emblems of elitism. There was no evidence of retreat from community obligations and family responsibilities on the part of the alumni/ae who participated in the study. They had returned to their families and townships with the expectation of being engaged fully in the issues that surrounded them. Es'kia Mphahlele's interpretation of social class among South African blacks clarifies the situation:

"In reality there is no African middle class. The nearest examples I have seen among blacks generally are the Western Cape 'coloureds' and the Durban and Johannesburg Indian merchants and professionals. Africans in the professions and manual labourers live cheek by jowl, and are all working

class, some more miserable than others. We are all in one big slum." (Mphahlele 1984)

REFLECTIONS ON U.S. INSTITUTIONS

Alumni/ae extolled the quality of instruction and character of faculty-student dialogue. They recalled the advantages of access to good libraries, laboratories, and athletic facilities. They also recalled the shortcomings of U.S. students, particularly undergraduates, who displayed little knowledge of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. A South African educator stated that on U.S. campuses the South African students "should be in contact with American students who will reinforce their idealism and commitment." Some found informed, concerned U.S. students and faculty members who supported their commitment; and some did not.

In every interview students and alumni/ae invariably considered the character of university environments in South Africa and in the U.S., and attempted to understand why students who might not perform well in white South African universities emerge from U.S. universities with strong records of achievement. Their observations corresponded to the analysis of Witwatersrand psychologist, Chabani Manganyi (1984), who listed several factors that diminish the performance of blacks in white South African universities:

(1) They are continuously subjected to political pressures;

(2) They are never really integrated into the universities;

(3) Racism or the inverted racism of the "liberal impulse" is an inhibiting factor;

(4) They are ambivalent about being at the university.

An added handicap is associated with accommodations. By law, housing at white universities is not open to blacks. Otty Nxumalo (1985) has described the issues and inconvenience associated with long commuting distances between black townships and white universities and the conditions for home study that black students must endure.

Among the factors Manganyi listed as enhancing performance in U.S. universities are the following:

(1) They undertake their studies with the expectation of success;

(2) They are highly motivated, determined, and fearful of failure;

(3) They are relatively free of political pressures and interruptions;

(4) U.S. instructional styles are compatible with the students' learning styles;

(5) Examination schedules encourage frequent reviews of material;

(6) Students have equal access to the entire range of university services and facilities;

(7) Being a foreign student may be an advantage in some U.S. universities.

The educational climate in U.S. universities and relief from an oppressive societal climate contributed to the effective performance of black South African students. (The question of comparison of level of performance in South African universities versus performance in U.S. universities might be raised for white South African students as well.) Participating U.S. colleges and universities have made significant contributions to the educational progress of SAEP students and, through them, contributions to their communities and eventually to a new South Africa.

ADVICE AND SUGGESTIONS

In the questionnaire administered to students in December 1984 at the Conference in St. Louis, we asked for advice to applicants and invited their suggestions to EOC, SAEP and IIE. With respect to advice to applicants, their most frequent statements pertained to preparation for study in U.S. colleges and universities. For example, they suggested that applicants learn more about U.S. institutions, particularly those in which they are likely to be placed. They urged that applicants be certain that the institutions where they are placed offer courses that are compatible with their major interests and objectives. They suggested that students be made aware of academic expectations such as class participation, team projects, test format and grading systems.

Several suggested that students should be knowledgeable about the history, demography and current affairs in South Africa; they should be

prepared to answer questions about their country. A few suggested that applicants should be aware of U.S. cultural developments and current affairs. It was advised that applicants be warned about U.S. racism; they should expect racist behavior on the part of some U.S. citizens, black as well as white. They would caution applicants about the aloofness or indifference of some U.S. students and would urge the South African student to take the initiative socially and make an effort to meet people. A few mentioned that applicants should be told that they need not be conformists and that they should attempt to retain their custom and values.

For the EOC and SAEP, some students had only positive comments and approbation for the administration and operation of the Program. "Keep up the good work!" wrote one woman. Several had specific suggestions for both organizations. Suggestions to the EOC were as follows: (1) increase publicity about the program, especially in rural areas; (2) notify candidates of placements earlier than in previous years; (3) provide up-to-date information about colleges and universities; (4) improve communications with applicants; and (5) expand the scope of orientation in South Africa.

Among the suggestions to SAEP and IIE were the following: (1) increase the number of placements in universities that are likely to be known and recognized in South Africa; (2) improve the rate of successful matches with universities; (3) develop a fund that will allow spouse and children to accompany the recipient; (4) increase allowances; and (5) increase the number of scholarships. (The pros and cons of items (4) and (5) were debated by the students; it became a "quality vs. quantity" debate.)

Alumni/ae mentioned all of the above suggestions. In addition, they suggested the following: (1) provide scholarships for doctoral candidates; (2) increase U.S. internship opportunities; (3) establish a more vigorous alumni/ae organization; (4) improve job placement efforts in South Africa; (5) create regional EOC offices; (6) request that alumni/ae submit brief reports on their programs, titles of theses, major papers, etc., to EOC; and (7) provide opportunities to renew their U.S. training with a sabbatical.

Opinion was divided on the question of whether the program should be open to undergraduates. Those opposed felt that younger students may not have an adequate understanding of the need to struggle against apartheid; that four years away from South Africa would strain their relationships with family and community; and that they might not return. Those in favor felt that it was important to broaden the experience of students in their early years and that U. S. undergraduate training had distinct advantages.

EVALUATORS' RECOMMENDATIONS

Our recommendations are based on the suggestions of students and alumni/ae. Rationales for the recommendations are drawn from empirical evidence. We recognize that some of the recommendations have fiscal implications that exceed the Program's current budgetary constraints; however, additional expenditures are likely to insure the continued success of the program.

1. ENLARGE THE ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY OF THE EOC.

There is an acute need for EOC regional representatives who would facilitate delivery of program information, recruitment, and coordination of regional programs for applicants and alumni/ae.

2. MONITOR THE PROGRESS AND ISSUES OF UNDERGRADUATES.

It is especially important to monitor the progress of undergraduates and to anticipate their problems. There is a persistent debate among graduate students and alumni (most of whom were graduate students in the U.S.) about the suitability of undergraduates for study abroad.

3. EXPLORE SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE FOR DEPENDENTS' TRAVEL.

Hardships encountered by a spouse who remains in South Africa, and loneliness and concern about family experienced by a student abroad can impair a student's performance and strain family relationships. It is recommended that an effort be made to procure funds (if needed and desired)

to contribute to air fare for spouse and/or children.

4. MAINTAIN AN ON-GOING EVALUATION OF STUDENTS AND ALUMNI/AE.

The SAEP Debriefing Questionnaire is a rich source of information about students' appraisals of their U.S. academic programs and other aspects of the U.S. sojourn. Periodic surveys concerning job searches, appointments and promotions of alumni/ae would contribute to the data base required for an on-going evaluation of the program and record of progress of its graduates.

5. INCREASE THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS ADMITTED ANNUALLY.

The pool of qualified candidates for scholarships is sizable. Increasing the visibility of the program in South Africa should attract applicants in greater numbers. Some participating U.S. universities may be able to increase the number of scholarships available; institutions that have not participated previously may offer scholarships. An increase in the level of federal and foundation support should be sought. The escalation in the pace of social change in South Africa requires an escalation in the rate of educational preparation of South African blacks.

NOTES

- Appendices to the report have been collated separately. Copies are available upon request.

- One and two digit numbers that appear in parentheses are frequencies.

- The terms "few", "some", "several", "many" and "most" appear throughout the report. In some instances frequencies appear in parentheses following the term for clarification. Where frequencies do not appear, the numerical translation would be as follows:

Few	Less than 25%
Some/Several	25% to 50%
Many	50% to 75%
Most	More than 75%.

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